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AUTHOR Hemara, Wharehuia
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ABSTRACT

During the last decade the New Zealand government and its education, health, and welfare sectors have increasingly focused their attention on gaps between Maori, non-Maori, and Maori failure within the education sector and society generally. This has created a sense of despair and sometimes panic among Maori and Pakeha (non-Maori) educationists and commentators. However, it has taken a long time for those who work within the system to appreciate that the way in which education services are delivered may have "failure" written into their outcomes. This review of traditional and contemporary Maori pedagogies from a wide range of records and publications explores traditional teaching, learning, and child rearing practices and how they apply within the European context. The literature reveals that when the Maori made first landfall, they already practiced a range of pedagogies and curricula, including: students and teachers at the center of the educative process, life-long intergenerational learning, gradual learning from a familiar starting point, recognition and encouragement of giftedness, and learning and teaching conducted from the students' strengths. Maori contact with the Western European education system has been characterized by tension; the encounters of two different world views and ways of operating were sometimes contradictory: Maori appreciation of literacy helped achieve new ways of communication and information gathering; Pakeha (and some Maori) considered Maori failure within the European system to be the fault of Maori opposition, indifference, willfulness and limited capacities; Maori (and some Pakeha) suspected that European education was a tool of the colonial enterprise and that the education on offer was irrelevant and poorly delivered; Pakeha disapproved of Maori child-rearing and educational practices; Maori disapproved of the type of discipline meted out by Pakeha teachers. The review suggests that the current focus on gaps between Maori and non-Maori performance is perceived in the context of what the dominant community deems is, and is not, important, and that perhaps focusing instead on gaps between Maori aspirations and achievements would be more appropriate. The ways in which Maori educated themselves and their young appear to be applicable today, and many of the hallmarks of Maori education proved that traditional values and operating standards can be translated into contemporary contexts. (HTH)

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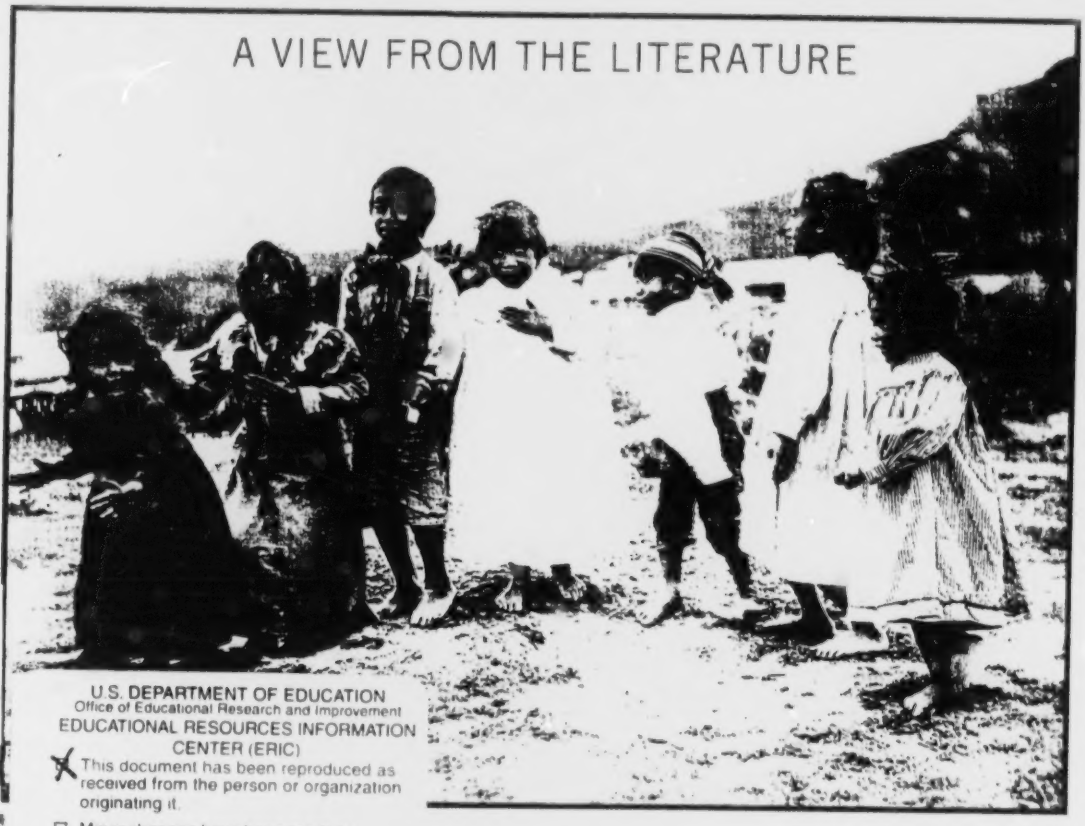
MĀORI PEDAGOGIES

A VIEW FROM THE LITERATURE



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MĀORI PEDAGOGIES

A view from the literature

MĀORI PEDAGOGIES

A view from the literature

Wharehuia Hemara
(Ngati Maniapoto/Ngapuhi)

New Zealand Council for Educational Research
Te Rūnanga o Aotearoa mo te Rangahau i te Matauranga
2000

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MIHI

E whakamihi ana ki i o tātau tupuna. Kei ngā tuhinga o mua ngā āhuatanga o rātau ma e tuwhera ana. Ngā tikanga hai whakatō whakaaro mā ngā uri whakaheke; hai arahi hoki i ā rātau i roto i te ao whakaongaonga kei mua tonu. Ka whakatauhia e au ēnei tuhinga ki aua tupuna.

It is with the deepest respect that I honour our tupuna. They left tracings of themselves in the historical record so that we, their descendants, could be guided through our tribulations towards a new and exciting future.

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INTRODUCTION

He huruhuru te manu ka rere; he ao te rangi ka uhia.

During the last decade the New Zealand Government and its education, health and welfare sectors have increasingly focused their attention on gaps between Māori and non-Māori, and Māori failure within the education sector and society generally.

This has created a sense of despair and sometimes panic among Māori and Pākehā educationists and social commentators. However, it has also taken a long time for those who work within the system to appreciate that the way in which education services are delivered may have 'failure' written into their outcomes.

This document investigates traditional and contemporary Māori pedagogies through reviewing a wide range of records and publications. It explores traditional teaching, learning and child-rearing practices and how they apply within the European context. It also discusses current issues in New Zealand's education sector and seeks to offer some options for, and challenges to:

- politicians;
- policy makers (analysts);
- policy practitioners (officials and teachers); and
- policy recipients (whānau/families, school boards and community interests).

The research reveals that many traditional practices still resonate within New Zealand's contemporary education system. Whether this means that education has gone full circle is yet to be seen. This document has been written as a contribution to the surrounding discourse.

There is a common belief that it is almost impossible to fathom how Māori educated their young and old. Although this is not quite true, it is tempting to contradict this view by presenting unalloyed versions of original perceptions within primary written sources. Because both are opinions, all related information deserves to be approached with some caution.

This document does not represent a definitive view of either Māori pedagogies or child-rearing practices. The traditions, current practices and future initiatives are part of a historical continuum that includes pre- and post-contact contexts. Historical information which does not appear in the written record has not been researched or analysed.

Although some international literature has been accessed, it is included in this document only when it supports analysis drawn from local information.

KEY FINDINGS:
A SUMMARY OF THE REVIEW

The literature researched for this report reveals that when Māori made first landfall in Aotearoa/New Zealand they already practised a range of pedagogies and curricula. Some of these were:

- students and teachers were at the centre of the educative process
- life-long intergenerational learning was normal
- students undertook gradual learning from a familiar starting point
- curricula were mixed and complementary
- giftedness was recognised and encouraged
- learning and teaching were conducted out of students' strengths
- small student numbers were normal
- one-on-one interaction was important.

Māori contact with the Western European education system has been characterised by tension between European teaching methods and Māori perceptions and performance. The encounters of two different world views and ways of operating were sometimes contradictory.

The relationship had some distinctive characteristics:

- Māori appreciation of literacy helped achieve new ways of communication and information gathering
- the Western European educational practices that were introduced to small, tribally-based communities were products of large, industrialised, metropolitan societies
- Pākehā (and some Māori) considered Māori failure within the European system to be the fault of Māori opposition, indifference, wilfulness and limited capacities
- Māori (and some Pākehā) suspected that European education was a tool of the colonial enterprise and that the education on offer was irrelevant and inadequately delivered
- Pākehā disapproved of Māori child-rearing and educational practices
- Māori disapproved of the type of discipline meted out by Pākehā teachers.

REVIEW

The definition of pedagogy

The definitions of pedagogy include:

> ... the art, practice, or profession of teaching... the systematized learning or instruction concerning principles and methods of teaching and of student control and guidance.... (Good & Merkel, 1973, p.412)

and:

> ... [the] Process by which knowledge, attitudes or skills are deliberately conveyed—includes the total instructional process from planning and implementation to evaluation and feedback. (Millar, E. & Findlay M., 1996, p.307)

For the purpose of this review the definitions have been modified to include Māori teaching styles within traditional contexts. These encapsulate a variety of media/curricula, such as:

- whakapapa (genealogy)
- waiata (song/poetry)
- whakatauākī (proverbs)
- kōrero tawhito (histories)
- whaikōrero (speech making).

Material researched

This research project reviewed a wide range of literature concerning Māori pedagogies and/or Māori teaching and learning styles.

National and international databases were accessed to search for related records and publications. These included Te Puna/NZBN (New Zealand Bibliographic Network), INNZ (Information New Zealand), and ERIC (Education Resources Information Centre). Subject headings included:

- Māori pedagogies
- Māori teaching/learning styles

- indigenous pedagogies
- indigenous teaching/learning styles.

The search revealed a number of related publications, conference papers, theses and treatises. Manuscripts and archives were accessed through the Alexander Turnbull Library and the National Archives. Some of these included ethnographic studies and government reports. Advice from the Māori and educational communities was also sought.

The publication includes Māori and Pākehā encounters within educational contexts over the last two centuries. Because much of the available early contact record is patchy, references to Māori child-rearing practices have also been included.

It is worth noting that early Pākehā attitudes to Māori appear to be quite different from those recorded from 1820 onwards. The tone of the records changes after European powers begin to vie with each other for colonies, and with Māori for land and resources. During the 18th century, the records of Cook, Banks, Du Fresne and others seem to have been driven by curiosity and trade. Later records appear to be driven by colonial enterprise, Darwinian theories and theological dogma.

Challenges of the research

Although manuscripts and archives include records of some traditional Māori pedagogies, it is difficult to fathom how much accurate information was transmitted to and recorded by 19th and early 20th century ethnographers.

The vast majority of enquirers and informants were male, so written records of pedagogies that included female participation are rare. To address this gap and others, traditional Māori media such as mōteatea, kōrero tawhito and whakapapa have been included in the review.

Records of early cross-cultural encounters often give insights into a range of issues, including observations of Māori women. The majority represent Māori women as being accorded the same level of rights as Māori men, but sometimes different rights:

> ... The pattern of uninterrupted male domination in the Pākehā nineteenth century world was quite dissimilar from the status of women in Māori society, both before and after contact with European.... (Ballara, 1993)

If this was so, it could be assumed that curricula and pedagogies were created that corresponded to the status, roles and employment of both genders.

Key themes

This review is structured around three themes:

1. 18th and 19th century Māori teaching, learning and child-rearing practices
2. Māori and Pākehā encounters
3. Contemporary Māori education.

These themes cascade into sub-themes from which specific subjects emerge, along with analysis from related literature.

18TH AND 19TH CENTURY MĀORI TEACHING, LEARNING AND CHILD-REARING PRACTICES

Sources of information

Modern Māori are fortunate that their 19th century ancestors recorded the conventions and mores of their own and previous generations. These records can be found in a number of extensive manuscript collections, such as the Grey New Zealand Māori Manuscripts, Auckland Public Library; the New Zealand Māori Purposes Fund Board Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington; and the Shortland Collection, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

Another rich source of information is the Native/Māori Land Court Minute Books, which often contain detailed records of the lifestyles, histories, resource relationships and esoteric beliefs of diverse Māori communities.

Native school records and related archives were accessed from the National Archives collections in Wellington and Auckland. These records give detailed information about the everyday lives of Māori communities and individuals who came into daily contact with Pākehā teachers and Crown officials.

The rapid advance of Māori literacy

Nineteenth century Māori manuscripts capture a past that might have been lost if Māori had not placed high value on literacy at a crucial moment in their history. The adoption of literacy was rapid and widespread. Either Māori or a blend of native and exotic teaching and learning styles enabled a pre-literate society to capture literacy within one generation and then reconfigure it to suit themselves.

The capturing of Western literacy should be seen as the acquisition of new skills which were blended into an already existing corpus of knowledge about education and child-rearing. This facilitated cultural maintenance at the same time as Māori were undergoing continual and dramatic metamorphosis.

Traditional child-rearing practices

Evidence suggests that the learning process began in the womb. Metaphorical references to the forming of the foetus were not uncommon.

E hine aku, ki to kunenga mai i
tawiti,
Ki te whakaaringaringa, ki te
Whakawaewae,
Te wakakanohi-tanga, ka
manu, e hine.

O, my daughter, when you
came from afar,
And your hands were formed,
and your feet,
And your face, you floated, O
daughter.

(Taylor, 1870)

The renowned historian, Mohi Turei of Rangitukia, records that Tuwhakairiora of Ngāti Porou left his homeland so that he could follow his mother's pre-natal instruction to avenge his grandfather's murder:

E i, kia takatakahi koe
i roto i a au, he tane.
E ea i a koe te mate o
toku papa.

Ah, move thou violently
within me, a son.
It is for thee to avenge the
death of my father.

(Turei, 1962)

Immediately following birth tohunga began preparing children for their future roles. Allowing for regional and iwi differences, karakia similar to these were recited over boys:

Ki te mahi kai mau.
Ki te nati whare mau
Ki te tui waka taua mau
Ki te ta kupenga mau.

May you be industrious in
cultivating food
In building large houses
In constructing war canoes
In the making of nets.

and over girls:

Ki te mahi kai mau
Ki te keri mataitai mau
Ki te whatu kahu mau
Ki te whatu kaitaka mau.

May you be industrious in
cultivating food
In searching for shell-fish
In weaving garments
In weaving fine cloaks.

(Firth, 1972)

The young were considered to be an iwi's greatest resource:

He aha te mea nui
He tangata, he tangata.

What is the most important thing
It is people, it is people.

(Whakatauākī, anon., n.d.)

It was crucial that children learn various skills, positive attitudes to work, and moral codes that ensured the wellbeing of the whānau and hapū. Kaumatua took on the important roles of teachers and guardians. As Ihaia Hutana wrote in *Te Puke o Hikurangi* (a now defunct Māori newspaper):

> The salvation of the men of old was the attention they paid to raising children, for they knew well that safety lay in numbers and that rank could only be sustained by tribal strength. (Cited in Firth, 1972, p.190)

As children grew, skills were built upon so that they could sustain spiritual, intellectual and physical wellbeing. One of the earliest contact records describes a tranquil, child-centred domestic lifestyle:

> ... [the women] seemed to be good mothers and showed

> affection for their offspring, I have often seen them play with the children, caress them, chew the fern root, pick at the stringy parts, and then take it out of their mouth to put it into that of their nurslings. The men were also very fond of and kind to their children.... (Ling Roth, 1891)

Pākehā perceptions

When Pākehā and the people of Whanganui-o-Hei/Mercury Bay made first contact, Captain Cook endeared himself to the locals because of his positive interchanges with children:

> ... When the chief goblin had been away in that part of their ship which he occupied, he came up on deck again and came to where I and my two boy-companions were, and patted our heads with his hand, and he put his hand out towards me and spoke to us at the same time, holding a nail out towards us. My companions were afraid, and sat in silence; but I laughed, and he gave the nail to me. I took it into my hand and said 'ka pai', and he repeated my words, and again patted our heads with his hand, and went away. My companions said, 'This is the leader of the ship, which is proved by his kindness to us; and also he is so very fond of children. A noble man—one of noble birth—cannot be lost in a crowd'.... (Horeta Te Taniwha cited in White, 1888)

This and other supporting evidence shows that traditional Māori child-rearing practices were relatively indulgent compared to those of Pākehā. Salmond (1991) relates that children were suckled until they had teeth and could walk, and their parents carried them around with them or placed them on mats or dogskins on the floor of their houses. 'Fathers, like mothers, looked after the physical needs of their children and treated them indulgently' (Salmond, 1991, p. 422).

It also appears that children were rarely the victims of adult violence: 'The Māori never beat their children, but were always kind to them, and seemed to strengthen the bonds of affection which remains among Māori throughout life' (Papakura, 1938, p.145). However, it appears that some abuse did occur:

> The story was so shocking, and almost incredible, particularly as the New Zealanders are very fond of their children, that no belief was attached to it, until it was corroborated. (Cruise, 1823, p.290-292)

Sometimes the early records were infected by uninformed interpretations of events and issues. During Cook's voyage in 1772–1775, he recalls an incident where:

> . . . it was even said that some of them offered their Children to sale but this certainly had no foundation in truth, the report took place on board the Adventure where they were utter strangers to their Language and Customs: It was not uncommon for them to bring their children with them aboard and present them to us in expectation of our making them presents, this happened to me yesterday morning a Man brought his Son a boy about 10 years of age and presented him to me and as the report was then current I thought he wanted to sell, but at last I found out that he wanted me to give him a shirt which I accordingly did the Boy was so fond of his new dress that he went all over the Ship presenting him self to every boddy [sic]. (Begg, 1969, p.118)

However, later events took an interesting turn:

> . . . he was afraid to appear in the Cabbin [sic] before his father untill [sic] brought in by Mr. Forster, when he told a very lamentable story… nor could he be pacified till his shirt was wash'd and dry'd.… (Begg, 1969, p.118)

It is interesting to note the child was unwilling to present himself to his father after he had had an accident with the shirt, but was not afraid to act wilfully until his specific needs were met.

It was important that children should not have their spirits broken. They were encouraged to assert themselves and the mana of their whānau, hapū and iwi. As Keesing (1928) says: 'The whole family and tribal training ensured that boys and girls were reared to maintain the aggressiveness, independence, and prowess of the ancestral stock.' (p.32)

It was also important that they should know what resources were available to them and how they could be harnessed, maintained and extended, as the following illustrates:

Hanga iho te whare Rangitawi;
Tiria mai te kumara,
Ka ruia mai te karaka ki te
taiao nei;
Karia iho te pou tama wahine.

Thence was made the house of
Rangitawi;
Let us plant the kumara,
And sow the karaka, in the land
bordering the sea;
Sink deep the post.

(Taylor, 1870)

Children were taught their roles and status. With this came a range of expectations and restrictions.

Whakaangi i runga ra he
kauwhau
Ariki e,
Koi tata iho koe ki nga wahi noa.

Soar gracefully on high
O chieftainess
And do not descend too near
to the common places.

(Ngata & Jones, Ngā Mōteatea, Part One, Hinekitawhiti, He Waiata Oriori/A Lullaby)

Young children were admitted to important hui. Marsden (1822) was surprised when he saw rangatira children as young as four years old attending attentively. Their questions were taken seriously and answered as fully as possible by their elders. This aided children's learning of kawa and tikanga. It was usually left to whānau to teach tikanga, whakapapa and whanaungatanga. This knowledge was considered essential for any Māori child.

Games as an educational tool

Games that mimicked adult activities were encouraged so that children became familiar with tasks they would be expected to carry out as they matured.

Competition taught children to cope with what was sometimes a harsh physical environment. Provision was made to promote expertise in a variety of crafts and occupations. Underpinning this were behavioural codes considered essential for social cohesion and survival:

E moe i tangata ringa raupa.
Tane rou kakahi ka moea.
tane moe i roto i te whare
kurua
te takataka
Wahine i te ringaringa.
Waewae kama, moea.
Wahine i te ngutu kakama.
Whakarerea atu.

Marry a man with blistered hands.
If a man is proficient in
gathering shellfish, marry him
If he sleeps lazily in the house,
reject him
If a girl has nimble hands and feet,
Marry her
If she is only agile at talking,
Leave her alone.

(Whakatauāki, anon., n.d.)

Some tools were especially manufactured to be used as teaching aids. These helped to teach children how to handle them with care and precision. As they were growing, boys would be taught activities such as hunting and trapping, while girls were taught weaving and entertaining guests.

Te wahine a mea he aumiti tangata.

The wife gives a cordial welcome to the visitor.

(Whakatuāki, anon., n.d.)

Tutoring in these skills was most often carried out by parents. As stated earlier, knowledge of iwi boundaries, whānau lands, fishing rocks, birding trees and other resources was passed on when it was considered appropriate or the opportunity arose.

Ihaia Hutana encapsulated the education and duties a young man must undertake to function as a fully contributing member of his community. The statement is rounded off with a moral platitude:

> ... When the child grew up he was taught the customs of his people, to deliver a speech, to bear weapons, and cultivate food, to hunt and snare, and to take the products of forest, stream, and ocean, to manage a canoe, to build a house or canoe; as also the ancestral lore of his tribe, together with many signs pertaining to the weather, winds, etc.; in fact, everything that might be beneficial and useful in the after life. Indolence in a young person was severely censured, for it brought trouble to himself and to his children in later years.... (cited in Firth, 1972, p.190)

The whare wānanga

The 'whare wānanga' is one of the more intriguing and mysterious pre-European-contact Māori institutions.

The closest comparison to any Western institution that this writer can draw is to the medieval monastery, where practical skills were taught based on strongly held esoteric principles, moral codes, and strict adherence to prescribed rituals.

Because many Pākehā ethnographers found the whare wānanga an alluring subject to investigate, so much has been written about it. Whether it is the truth or an assemblage of facts and fantasies is debatable. An incontrovertible fact is that opinions differ on what a whare wānanga was, why they existed, and how they functioned. Those differences may have various origins, many of which could be the result of cultural diversity.

Descriptions of the whare wānanga

The whare wānanga has been generally described as a house of learning, although recently it has become associated with tertiary education. Elsdon Best (1922) and Johannes Andersen (1948) disagree on whether the whare

was a physical entity. Best declares there were no permanent buildings dedicated to teaching and learning, and he believed that the word 'whare' was figurative rather than literal. Andersen states that whare wānanga were closed at the end of term (teaching season) and re-opened at the beginning of the next. Several accounts, including those by Mitchell (1972), Andersen (1948), MacKay (n.d.), Tregear (1904), and Makareti (Maggie Papakura, 1938), give physical descriptions of whare wānanga and therefore argue for the existence of buildings reserved for teaching and learning.

Within the sphere of whare wānanga there were other specialist subdivisions, such as the whare maire, which specialised in makutu or the black arts (also known as the whare porukuruku by the Ngāti Kahungunu). However, this term can also be used by Tuhoe for whare wānanga. The Ngāti Awa use the term 'whare puni', while the Kai Tahu use 'whare kura'. Another Tuhoe term describes a college which transmitted the highest of esoteric knowledge as the 'whare takiura'. The 'whare tātai' was a college that specialised in astronomy. Other specialist schools or colleges that taught secular skills were:

- whare pora (weaving)
- whare mate and/or whare takaha (fowling)
- whare tapere, whare karioi, whare rehia, whare matoro, whare rape and whare pakimairo (recreation)
- whare pūrākau (histories and biographies).

Again Best (1922) differs from others such as Buck (1954) and Smith (1913) on the origins of the whare wānanga. Best allegedly gathered his information from the Tuhoe, while Buck and Smith used Te Matorohanga of Ngāti Kahungunu, who is reported to have set up the last whare wānanga on the East Coast.

Best records that the original whare wānanga was at the top of the twelve heavens and known as 'Rangiatea'. It was the property of Io, the supreme being (although Io may be a post-European-contact response to Judeo-Christian monotheism). The college was guarded by māreikura and whatukura, who were also known under the collective title of Toi-o-ngā-Rangi. Those who support Buck's and Smith's version agree, but

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go on to assert that the whatukura were five male gods while the māreikura were their female equivalents. The first whare wānanga on earth was called 'Whare Kura', and was constructed by Rua-te-pupuke at Te Hono-i-Wairua.

There appear to have been two versions of the origins of the whare wānanga as well as of the creation cycle. One was for general consumption, while the other was reserved for those who were chosen to access 'higher knowledge'.

Whare wānanga participants

Post-European-contact accounts usually state that only boys and young men were educated to an advanced level. However, most research was carried out by men, who usually had Māori male informants (with the exception of Makareti). This may say more about the ethnographers than the Māori subjects.

Gifted boys who possessed the appropriate whakapapa were chosen to enter the whare wānanga between the ages of twelve and seventeen. Mackay (n.d.) states that the whare wānanga was attended by the sons of great chiefs so that they could learn to retain and build on the power and privileges they had inherited from their ancestors. Gudgeon (1885) asserts that only the brightest were chosen. He goes on to say that the rigours of training in the whare maire often proved too much for many. From all accounts only the most exceptional candidates were able to assimilate the vast corpus of iwi history (kōrero tawhito), waiata, karakia and detailed whakapapa that prepared them to take on the role of tohunga.

On entering the precincts of the whare wānanga, particular rituals were carried out. Again, different accounts are recorded. Best (1922) describes rituals that were performed by Ngāti Awa and Tuhoe, and Andersen (1948) and White (1888) record what they had seen or heard from their experiences among the Kai Tahu.

Best states that during instruction, women were not present, and that there were special food and clothes reserved for such sacred undertakings. However, Andersen and White record that women, or at least a woman,

was present throughout instruction and that everyday clothes were worn. Instruction at the higher level of learning was a tapu undertaking that involved placing tapu at the beginning of a day's instruction and lifting it when instructions for a particular module were complete.

Whare wānanga construction

The following is a general description of a whare wānanga, although there were regional differences.

By facing east the whare replicated similar buildings in Hawaiki. It was divided into three distinct areas or spheres of influence.

1. The easternmost portion was dedicated to sacrificial offerings and was called 'mua'. This area ran from north to south and was considered a sort of chapel that was overseen by Kahukura (the rainbow god) and where human and animal sacrifices were offered to Mua (the blood) and to Tu (the heart). Mua and Tu belonged to the highest order of gods. This area also housed a sacred fire and umu (oven), which was kept alive while sacrifices were made. At the end of the day, a new fire was lit, which functioned as an oven for cooking food reserved for the tohunga.
2. The middle section was the lecture hall or classroom. In this area a stone talisman was buried near the rear pillar (ahurewa). This was where important rituals were performed.
3. The third area was reserved for the head tohunga; here he performed particular rituals and was said to communicate with the gods.

All three areas were extremely tapu. Tasks and activities were preceded and followed by strict adherence to appropriate rituals, prayers and incantations.

The gathering of materials for building the whare was a communal task, but the actual building was carried out by the tohunga, who were forbidden to eat while they laboured—they would eat at the end of each day. When the building was completed, human and animal sacrifices were made as a dedication.

Whare wānanga types

Metge (1983) suggests that the whare wānanga of the last century differed from the pre-European-contact version and includes a number of distinct types:

1. A whare wānanga housed in temporary, purpose-built buildings where small, formal gatherings of students (tauira) were overseen by tohunga. The curriculum specialised in sacred knowledge, some of which was reserved for a selected few. Relationships between teachers and students were hierarchical, with students receiving and rote learning uninterrupted and unquestioned instruction. Breaches could cause instruction to be ended abruptly.
2. A gathering of experts to debate and discuss a number of issues, often esoteric but not exclusively. These were formal and exclusive meetings where the truth of authorised versions (such as of histories and whakapapa) was investigated to establish their validity. Although most discussion was carried out by experts and the initiated, students often attended with their guardians so that they could learn.
3. A hui where the issues discussed by experts could be transmitted for general consumption.
4. A gathering of people to share knowledge and debate both ancient and contemporary issues.

Whare wānanga teaching strategies

According to Best (1922) the element of surprise was sometimes used to impress a particular piece of important information on a student's mind. He goes on to state that a type of faux-anger was used to bewilder students, and that this was supposed to encourage them to ask questions. This bears a close approximation to Zen haiku, where a surprising incident would trigger cognitive expansion.

Various rituals and karakia were performed before instruction and it seems that much teaching and learning went on at night. The lower ranks were sometimes warned to protect themselves from the effects of the strong tapu which might be released during instruction.

Although the whare wānanga was characterised by formality and exclusivity, Metge (1983) describes another learning strategy that seems completely at odds with this. She calls this 'education through exposure'. In education through exposure, students were exposed to situations in which they were expected to participate and perform. Although they were supported by others, including their teachers, they were expected to work out what was going on and solve problems that arose. Success was measured by how and when solutions were applied to a variety of living situations. This type of education covered a wide range of activities such as cultivation and childcare, as well as functions associated with public occasions such as hui (meetings) and tangi (funerals). Although these two learning/teaching strategies seem mutually exclusive, Metge goes on to say there were meeting points where esoteric learning had practical application, and secular activities had spiritual underpinnings.

A third strategy was when an expert or elder (pūkenga) took a candidate under their care and 'fed' them knowledge. The student would accompany the pūkenga to a variety of events and hui. The candidate was often related to the pūkenga, but it was not a prerequisite. Often grandparents would take a grandchild (moko taura) and start a process of life-long learning. The grandchild would function as a link between generations.

Whatever the diversities, it is generally believed that the strictest conditions of tapu were imposed when important subjects such as traditions and whakapapa were being taught. This particular wānanga was considered a nursery for a new generation of tohunga.

Secular instruction and the involvement of women

It seems that secular instruction was less formal, undertaken to fit young men and women for the role of being a responsible member of their hapū and iwi. Because two levels of teaching and learning took place, a number of whare may have been erected for different curricula.

The exclusion of Māori women from much of this research (as either informants or subjects) must be balanced against the large body of information evident in waiata/mōteatea. These show that not only were

women the composers of a large percentage of waiata, but the information transmitted through this medium was about and directed to both genders.

Mixed media

Waiata (song/poetry), whakatauākī (proverbs), kōrero tawhito (history), and whakapapa (genealogy) were important educative tools.

Waiata oriori

Best (1922) explains that 'waiata oriori' were more than just 'lullabies', which is how they are described by late 19th and early 20th century writers. He says that oriori could not be fully understood by an infant because the content was often dense and complex.

On one level waiata oriori told a story. This was used to implant iwi traditions and lore into a child's mind. As the learner's familiarity with waiata grew, they would gradually come to an understanding of its meaning and intent.

Often an oriori begins by referring to a child's status and virtues. Status is confirmed by the recitation of genealogical origins. Often the death of a parent, grandparent or ancestor is lamented, or a military or political calamity commemorated. This establishes the general theme. The child is then called on to either avenge or enhance whānau, hapū, or iwi mana, while being regaled with the deeds of ancestors (Ngata & Jones, 1949).

Oriori are among the longest waiata. Although the texts can be complex and convoluted, the tunes are generally simple and unconfined (unlike those of most waiata forms). Flexible line lengths and stanzas, combined with a fast tempo and simple tunes, allow for rapid transmission of complex ideas and multi-faceted relationships. There often seem to be rapid transitions and cryptic allusions to family, ancestors, places and events (McLean, 1996). This seems to echo the practice of surprising learners so that facts can be implanted in their minds.

The following is part of a waiata composed for a baby. The concepts and allusions are complex and subtle and it is drenched in allusions and metaphors.

E tama i kimia, i rapa!
I rapa taua ki roto te Kore te
whiwhia
Ki roto te Kore te rawea;
Pupuru; mau ake ki te kanoi o
te uha na
Ko Kura-waka ano Kura-waka,
ka tohia, ki te one,
Ko Tohi-nuku ano, ko Tohi-
raangi ano,
Ka kukune, Hawa-iki, e
Ka hua na au ki a koe, e tama,
Kai te whatuteki koe, kai te
Whatuterea
Kai te whatutetawhia na.
Kai te tau no koe, e tama
I te tau a to atua, a Kahu-kura
I a Ngarue tiwhana i runga ra,
Kokomo te tauira ki roto,
Te tama a Te Ao-matangi.

O son searched for, O son
sought for! We two were sought for in
the intangible Void
And with the shapeless Void;
Once held fast, and suspended
on a female strand,
The Crimson-bowl remained a
Crimson bowl, until soil
sanctified, Earth-sanctified, Heaven-
sanctified
As was the conception in Hawa-
iki
I cherish thoughts of you, O son
As a rock-like-knowledgeable-
adept, self-possessed-adept
A full-fledged adept, indeed.
You shall recite, O son,
The lay of your god, the
Splendour-of-the Rainbow
With the Spectrum arching on high,

Enter as a dedicated pupil (the
house of sacred learning)
As a son of the World-of
fragrant-breezes.

(Ngata & Jones, Ngā Mōteatea Part Three, 231, He Oriori, Ngāti Kahungunu)

This waiata was composed by a father for his son.

- The first three lines tell the child about the time when there was a void or nothingness. It also speaks of a time before the child was conceived.
- The fourth line seems to make an allusion to the umbilical cord. The allusion of the 'Crimson-bowl' is not completely opaque; when it is 'sanctified' the child comes into being. The child's conception is compared to the creation of Hawaiki, the ancestral homeland. Hawaiki in this context refers to a spiritual homeland rather than the physical Hawaiki.
- By the eighth line the parents' and whānau expectations of the child are proclaimed: to be able to recite whakapapa and kōrero tawhito, which he will learn over time. This role will not only honour the gods but also bring mana to his whānau, his ancestors and descendants.
- The waiata goes on to list ancestors, their deeds and the resources they harnessed. Apparently the sentiments expressed in this waiata were popular beyond the borders of Ngāti Kahungunu.

The following waiata tangi/lament was not composed specifically for children. It was composed to commemorate a Te Arawa heroine. It was expected that those who heard it would either know the underlying story or learn about it as it was sung.

E tu, E whae! he maihe whare-
nui
No Tama-te-kapua,
No te whanau, e;
Kia whakaputa koe
Te mana o Hoturoa;
E tu ana koe,

Nga waka taurua,
I a Tainui, i a Te Arawa,
Na Rangitihi koe,
He hekenga iho ra
No Tama-te-kapua,
Kia pohiri koe te tini o Te
Arawa
Koia i to 'whare whawhao' e i,
Ka puta te tangata,
Ka ora ki te ao, e i.

Arise, O lady
On the porchway of the big
house of
Tama-te-kapua,
And those of your kin;
So that you may show
The prestige of Hoturoa;
For you do stand
Athwart both canoes
Tainui and Te Arawa.
You are of Rangitihi
And descended, indeed,
from Tamatekapua
Privileged you were to greet the
myriads of Te Arawa
Within your 'house filled up',
Thus were saved the lives of
men
To live on in the world.

(Ngata & Jones, Ngā Mōteatea Part Two, 200, by Rangiwawahia, A Lament for Te Aokapurangi/He Tangi mo Te Aokapurangi, Te Arawa)

This excerpt captures a range of information:

- The name of the house, 'Tama-te-Kapua', places Te Aokapurangi among the Arawa people of the Rotorua/Bay of Plenty region. Their eponymous ancestor is Tama-te-Kapua. Te Aokapurangi is a member of two iwi confederations/waka—Tainui and Te Arawa.
- The use of a bilineal genealogical metaphor recalls Te Aokapurangi standing above a doorway so that 'the myriads' of Te Arawa could

escape between her legs. The pursuers were Ngāpuhi of Northland who were her in-laws. Because her whanaunga (relations) passed under her, Ngāpuhi did not pursue and kill them. The metaphor has a deeper association. She saved her people by parting her legs and so preserved the whakapapa.

- This is also an oblique reference to her contribution. By parting her legs she exposed the most potent female force in the universe, the womb. Within the cosmic womb resided Te Po, the great darkness where the universe gestated until it burst into Te Ao Marama/the world of light.
- The term 'myriads' is usually associated with stars. Stars may refer to the Milky Way, which in this context is a metaphor for semen and/or descendants. Her act was not only heroic but she was 'privileged' to transport her people from the world of darkness, and certain death, to the world of light, and safety and life.

This incident took place during the inter-tribal musket wars of the 1820s. The waiata records a particularly traumatic period in history for Te Arawa as well as for the rest of the country. Whakapapa places Te Aokapurangi within a historical and genealogical continuum. Metaphors throw up a number of issues and relationships. The waiata was to be understood at a number of levels. Deeper understanding and enquiry would develop as learners matured.

The next excerpt comes from a waiata that opens by establishing the child's status within her iwi. Hinekitawhiti, the composer, is the grandmother of the subject, Ahuahukiterangi. The family lived at the north end of Tokomaru Bay. Through whakapapa lines the family had consanguineous links with most of Ngāti Porou's leading families. The composer takes Ahuahutiterangi on a metaphorical journey to various geographical points and introduces resident relatives and associated ancestors. Ngata and Jones describe this type of oriori as a 'genealogical-geographical lullaby':

Ana, e koro! Auaka e whangaia
ki te umu nui,
Whangaia iho ra ki te umu ki tahaki,

Hai te pohi matapo hei katamu
mahana, ki-
A ora ai hine takawhaki atu
ana nga
Moka one ra i roto o Punaruku,
te,
Ma Te Rangitumoana mana e
whakapeka,
mo-
E rawa ki kona, e!

Do not, O sir, give her food
from the common earth-oven,
But feed her from the oven
reserved for her kind,
With the dark-fleshed taro, that
she may chew with relish,
And be sustained, when
presently in her wanderings,
She comes to the small stretches
of beach inside Punaruku,
There Te Rangitumoana will
invite her
To turn aside and rest the night!

(Ngata & Jones, Ngā Mōteatea Part One, Mōteatea o Hinekitawhiti, He Waiata Oriori/A Lullaby, Ngāti Porou)

Whakatauākī

Whakatauākī (proverbs) were used for most occasions. According to Colenso:

> There are proverbs relating to industry, in favour of perseverance, exertion, etc; against idleness, laziness, gluttony, etc; against slander, lying, etc; against trusting to promises, appearances, etc., against a boaster; against inhospitality; relating to hidden thoughts; respecting caution; against making much of small matters; against beginning war; and to many other things. (Reed & Brougham, 1978)

Some whakatauākī encapsulated lessons about life generally, as the following selections illustrate:

Maramara nui a mahi, kei riro i a noho.
Let industry be rewarded, lest idleness gets the advantage.

Ko te kai rapu, ko ia te kite; Ko ia kahore nei i rapu, te kitea.
He who seeks finds; He who does not seek finds not.

Ko Maru kai atu, ko Maru kai mai, Ka ngohe ngohe.
Give as well as take, and all will be well.
(Taylor, 1870)

The last whakatauākī seems to be referring to either a god or a person called Maru. Allusions to deities and historical figures were common.

Many refer to the efficacy of co-operation by using coded references to the virtues of working within iwi, hapū and whānau:

Ki te hamama popoia te tangata kore mau te ika.
If a man spends his night yawning he will not catch any fish.
(Reed & Brougham, 1978)

Ma tini mano ka rapa te wai; E kore e mahana, he iti-iti o te Puheru.
A great number will easily accomplish what a few cannot;
There is no warmth if the garment is too small.
(Taylor, 1870)

This last whakatauākī states that small numbers of individuals are ineffective and, by association, co-operation and unity is the best strategy.

Other whakatauākī refer to common ownership:

He waka eke noa.
It is a canoe which belongs to no-one.

or to a person without rank, influence or support:

Ko te uri o pani.
The house [descendant] of the orphan.

Still more express a range of emotions, such as cynicism:

Pihi kau ake te wakaaro pai,
Hauhake tonu iho.
The good thought springs up as grass,
but it is immediately cut down.

or love, grief and resignation:

Ko Hine-titama' koe, matawai
ana te whatu i te tirohanga
He wahine tangi tikapa, me he
Ngaru moana, taro ake kua
paki.

O Hine-titama,' the eye fills
with tears
when looking at you
A woman's mournful wailing
will, like
a wave of the sea, be calm again
in a short time.

(Reed & Brougham, 1978) 'Hine-titama was the 'dawn maiden'.

Some whakatauākī were created to assert the position of the individual who was quoting it:

E kore au e ngaro; he kakano i
ruiruia mai i Rangiatea.

I will never be lost; the seed was
sown even in Rangiatea.

(Whakatauākī, anon., n.d.)

This whakatauākī proudly proclaims that the speaker has genealogical links to Rangiatea, the Māori ancestral homeland. Because the individual knows this fact, they are confident they will be recognised by others and receive the support of ancestors when required.

This type of whakatauākī was not unusual. It was often assumed that the listener would be able to make connections between metaphors or allusions and the subject under discussion.

Ka pu te ruha; Ka hao
te rangatahi.

The old net is set aside; The new
net goes fishing.

(Whakatauākī, anon., n.d.)

This whakatauākī tells of an old man's frustration at not being able to attract the attention or ministrations of a young woman. While he is observing her from a thicket, he notices a young man who emanates all the confidence of youth. The realisation that youth attracts youth creates a sense of resignation.

The 'fishing' metaphor was common for a community with a marine-based economy. The word 'rangatahi' has come to mean youth in most contemporary contexts. A lesson that could be learnt from this is that when the old relinquish authority, it is incumbent on youth to take control and show the same wisdom.

Although the subjects of whakatauākī were important, the timing and delivery were also crucial. As they dealt with everyday activities, they were often used to guide individuals through tasks. As they became more complex, they conveyed deeper philosophical messages. They often linked concepts in whaikōrero (speeches) and karanga (calls). Tohunga would express rapid-fire whakatauākī to disconcert the learner. This tactic was believed to facilitate original thinking.

Kōrero tawhito

Kōrero tawhito were considered essential for all members of iwi/hapū to know. Evidence given by Māori in the Native Land Court bears witness to this.

Whaikōrero were often used to express whānau, hapū and iwi histories as well as political relationships and family links with each other and other iwi. Whaikōrero were generally carried out on the marae, a public platform. Here children were exposed to the histories, genealogies, arts, politics and rituals of their hapū and iwi. They witnessed how their elders behaved and mimicked them.

As stated earlier, Samuel Marsden (1882) was surprised to see young children encouraged to contribute to important discussions. Because most important public occasions took place on the marae or in the wharehui (meeting house), children could not help but learn from what was going on around them.

The occasions where karanga and whaikōrero were being observed could be described as formal occasions for informal learning. The following excerpts from modern whaikōrero illustrate the use of ancient allusions.

Haere! Whakangaro atu i a
koutou.
Kauria atu nga moana hohonu.
o te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa e takoto
mai nei,
i hoe mai ai o tatou tupuna. . . .
Ina ra e korero nei. Ina ra e
ngangahu nei.
Ina e whaitaita nei.
Te mana, te wehi, te tapu o
tupuna, e kui.

Farewell! You are lost to us.
Cross the deep waters
of Moana-nui-a-Kiwa that lies
here,
and was traversed by our
ancestors....
Here they are with so much to
tell.
They are staring wildly. Here
they are with darting eyes
[exuding] the prestige, the power,
the veneration of your forebears,
kui (O lady).

(Radio New Zealand, 1981)

Whakapapa as curriculum

Māori pedagogies and, by association, assessment practices are characterised by inter-relationships between various curricula. For

example, whakapapa, waiata, kōrero tawhito and whakatauākī do not exist in isolation. Each depends on the others for its origins and its existence. While informing each other, each one can also extend its boundaries of enquiry, both individually and collectively.

'Whakapapa' distinguishes Māori from any other race, nationality or community. It is a proclamation of individuals' and communities' origins. Whakapapa can be used as a vehicle for scientific enquiry as well as a social agent that describes a full range of co-generational and inter-generational relationships.

In this regard, Eco's rhizome metaphor (1984) partly explains Māori teaching, learning and assessment practices. He proposes that the way rhizomes are constructed, i.e. that every node or point is connected to every other, allows for infinite potential.

Whakapapa illustrates something similar. It was incumbent on all iwi/hapū members to know where they were positioned in relationship to others. Historical relationships with outsiders or non-members were also important. Those relationships could encapsulate past, present and potential rivalries or alliances.

Eco (1984) goes on to explain that there are no discrete units that give meaning but rather that each node informs the whole. For Māori, individuals hold positions on a whakapapa continuum. They are intimately connected to everyone else. These links are part of an ever-widening cycle of relationships where information is continually being transmitted and received.

An attempt to describe the concept of whakapapa follows.

The Māori creation cycle

The first parent has connections with existences or hyper-realities. They are Te Kore (the infinite void), Te Po (the infinite darkness), and Te Ao Marama (the world of light). While Te Ao Marama descends from others, their continued existence is assured by their offspring.

Te Kore, Te Po, Te Ao Marama and their descendants (including humanity), swirl around in a cosmic soup where each element brings its own flavour. That individual flavour is/was/will be created by all that went before and that follows.

Te Kore (the infinite void, nothingness) has an inexplicable presence. Over time nothing becomes less than nothing until it transforms into darkness. Within the darkness the gods gestate.

The drama of separating the deities into distinguishable entities that compete and collude is played out within a celestial womb. A sliver of light appears and then the gods and all other things that have been born in the gloom tumble into the world of light. Over multiple millennia, constellations are formed until finally mankind is created.

The first human: Hineahuone

A version of the creation of humanity has Hineahuone (the Earth-formed Maiden) as the first human being. Her creator is Tane, one of the 'god' sons of Papatuanuku (the Earth-mother) and Ranginui (the Sky-father). Tane has children to Hineahuone. One of their children, Hinetitama, bears him children. She discovers that Tane is her father and is so traumatised by her discovery that she throws herself into the darkness. Within the darkness she transforms into Hine-nui-te-Po (the Great Lady of the Night). As Hine-nui-te-Po she brings death to all things. Through death new life is born.

Takoto ana mai te marama i te
marama
i te pae te tara ki te ruruhi
He ripa tau-arai ki te iwi ka
ngaro
Ki te po-uriuri, ki te po-
tangotango,
ki te po oti atu
Hei whare korero, hei whare
wānanga
ma Hine-nui-te-Po e kuku nei
te tangata.

Here the moon lies on the
horizon
A symbol of the ancestress
A barrier (separating us) from
the people who are lost
The darkness, the intense
darkness,
the final darkness
As a topic of conversation and
discussion for the Great Lady of
the night who takes all men.

(Mahuta, 1974)

Interpretations

The creation of Hineahuone and the subsequent fate of Hinetitama or Hine-nui-te-Po could be interpreted in a number of ways.

All women could celebrate the fact that a woman was the first human being. Young women could celebrate their fecundity, while middle-aged and elderly women (kuia) could declare their political and spiritual power. Childbirth replicated the creation of the universe. Death did not only mean the culmination of this life but also announced new beginnings. Terms such as wharetangata ('womb' and 'the origin of people'), whānau ('to be born' and 'family'), hapū ('pregnant' and 'sub-tribe') and whenua ('afterbirth' and 'land') show how women could interpret existence within their own terms of reference.

The story of Hinetitama also taught young men some salutary lessons. While women were to be honoured, they were also to be approached with caution. Hinetitama represented youthfulness and beauty, while Hine-nui-te-Po represented something altogether different.

> *Kua puta nga wahine me te*
> *whenua,*
> *ka mate nga tangata.*
>
> Through women and land men
> die.
>
> (Whakatauaki, anon., n.d.)

On approaching women with particular intent, a man would die (similar to the Shakespearean *little death*). On another level it displayed a fear of death and, by association, of women.

Collective consciousness

The most obvious collective lesson from the story of Hineahuone was that incest was a horrific crime and that the victim would be avenged.

Lessons

The meanings a child drew from a whakapapa recital were quite different from the understandings individuals would gain as their enquiries became

more complex and sophisticated. The tohunga would guide the learner through progressive steps or 'poutama' (Royal-Tangaere, 1997).

Vygotsky (1978) proposes that through communication the world is described and then internalised or understood. This leads to 'independent development achievement'. Through becoming familiar with what is being taught or through being guided, the learner reaches 'zones of proximal development'.

Because of something approaching 'independent development achievement', Māori learners were expected to add value to what was learnt by embellishing received data. 'Kōrero kaka' (parroting) was discouraged. At the same time as individuals are thrown into a world of historically prescribed conditions, they are adding to a mass of information which is informing, evolving and re-creating.

Constructivism

In a Māori context there seem to have been two things happening that are neither in opposition nor completely in harmony.

The first is 'constructivism', where the learner is 'constructed' by the tohunga. The tohunga would construct and direct learning by introducing signposts. Those signposts could be the names of ancestors, topographical features or metaphorical allusions. The following excerpt from a waiata contains all three:

E hine aku, ki to kunenga
mai i tawiti,
Ki te whakaaringaringa,
ki te whakawaewae,
Te wakakanohi-tanga,
ka manu, e hine,
i te waka i a Ruatea,
Ko Kurahaupo,
ka iei mai taua, i runga i Aotea
ko te waka ia Turi,
Kau mai taua te ngutu whenua
kura,
Hanga iho te whare Rangitawi;

Tiria mai te kumara,
Ka ruia mai te karaka ki te
taiao nei;
Karia iho te pou tamawahine.

O, my daughter,
when you came from afar,
And your hands were formed,
and your feet,
And your face,
you floated, O daughter,
in Ruatea's canoe,
In the Kurahaupo,
When you embarked in the
Aotea,
the canoe of Turi,
you forded the whenua kura at
its mouth,
Thence was made the house
of Rangitawi;
Let us plant the kumara,
And sow the karaka, in the land
bordering the sea;
Sink deep the post young
woman.

(Taylor, 1870)

Enactivism

In an 'enactivist' approach, the learner would come to know the waiata's various levels as she matured. Although she might require guidance, she would also have to rely on her own judgement. What she learnt might have huge implications for resource guardianship and iwi/hapū allegiances. Her actions would be continually reviewed and assessed. The outcomes depended on the directions she chose to follow and on her (and her descendants') subsequent actions.

The waiata is dynamic, the learner is its main subject. Her life will add meaning to the lyrics and serve as a living commentary.

The teacher/composer and the learner/subject seem to have embarked on an 'enactivist' activity by 'working on a common project—the simultaneous bringing forth of themselves and the world—even if their respective interpretations of their actions and experiences differ'. (Davis, Sumara & Kieren, 1996).

Peer assessment

Māori learners were assessed by their peers, teachers and all those who were affected by the results. When a whakapapa recitation or other activity was being performed the listeners sounded either their approval or otherwise. This showed how well the learner 'lived' with the information they had accumulated and how well the assessors knew the learner and the subject under scrutiny.

> The whānau spoke of regular praise from manuwhiri at the marae and visitors to the kura. People marvel at the children's competence in te reo, and their positive attitudes.... (Tuteao, 1998, p.32)

This statement illustrates the point that learning is a dynamic and complex interplay of individual, and in this case the learner's community. By acting out the knowledge that has been accumulated, there is no separation from knowing and doing.

Enactivism does not make a clear distinction between what we know and who we are, similarly the waiata does not make a distinction between what the learner is learning and what she is going to become.

Assessment in Māori terms is a concept that may require collective knowledge which then translates into collective action. Māori culture is in a continual state of recreation, re-interpretation and re-negotiation of itself (Davis et al., 1996), and assessment practices need to respond appropriately.

KEY FINDINGS

Several themes emerged from the research that apply to the education sector and Māori society today.

A mix of theory and practice

Traditional curricula were closely related to the spiritual, intellectual, social and physical wellbeing of the community and individual. As human and economic resources were identified, skills were taught that were commensurate with the efficient and effective use of those resources. The idea that education should be more relevant for students who come from a range of realities and circumstances is gaining currency.

Children and adults at the centre of the educative process

While current thinking places children at the centre of learning, a traditional Māori perspective seems to locate students and teachers in the same place. The processes of learning were reciprocal—both teachers and students learnt from each other. Teaching/learning, experience and experimentation were co-operative ventures in which everyone involved learnt something new.

Learning as a gradual process

Waiata oriori and whakatauākī are examples of how understandings emerged from experience and levels of maturity.

Lessons had direct and immediate application. As the student matured, the associated tasks would become more complex. It seems that a simple lesson on a complex subject would be delivered at one time, but then the student and teacher would draw out deeper and more complex meanings as time passed. Vygotsky (1978) proposes that language learning happens when there is communication between children and their communities:

> The acquisition or learning of language gave rise to a variety of internal developmental processes that were able to operate when the child was interacting with people in the given situation. (Vygotsky, 1978, cited in Royal-Tangaere, 1997, p. 11)

Once children were capable of internalising what they had learnt, they reached a 'zone of proximal development'. This identifies what children can do with or without help. After they have learnt to successfully complete a task they move on to different and perhaps more complex activities.

This type of teaching/learning appears to have taken place in traditional Māori communities. The difference may have been that the teacher and learner would often reach particular zones of proximal development together. In informal settings children's feedback was considered appropriate and was actively encouraged.

Formal and informal training

While the whare wānanga seems to have been a formal setting, much other learning was carried out informally by adults who were charged with looking after children.

Rote learning was a hallmark of whare wānanga learning. Huge tracts of historical events and details, whakapapa and esoteric beliefs were learnt in this way. This type of learning appears to have been highly ritualised. The ritual may have enhanced the mana of the learning and the curriculum. This would have created an atmosphere of deep respect between teacher and students.

Informal learning with an adult was often linked to the harnessing of natural resources. Lessons and their application had an immediate impact on the economic wellbeing of the community. This meant that the students were fully functioning members of and contributors to their communities.

Low teacher/learner ratios

It seems that within the formal setting of the whare wānanga a small number of students were allowed to take instruction at any given time. Apparently there was more than one adult on hand; adults included the tohunga and assistants or assistant acolytes, and often a kuia who may have filled the role of kaitiaki (guardian) and/or kaiarahi (guide).

Informal training and learning would often have been in the form of one-on-one tuition. This allowed teachers and learners to confirm family relationships by forging close social and economic interdependency. This seems to be in line with current thinking but flies in the face of current practice:

> New Zealand teachers carry a heavier classroom load than almost any other country in the developed world. Our primary school teachers look after 24.7 students each on average... and the OECD average is 18 students. (*New Zealand Herald*, 16 June 2000)

Intergenerational teaching and learning

While parents were often caught up in the business of providing the things that were essential to survival and economic and social wellbeing, older whānau members were often recruited to bring up young children.

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It was not and still is not uncommon for Māori grandparents to oversee the upbringing and education of their mokopuna.

Kaumatua were considered a vast information resource. Their wisdom and reflection were considered essential to the teaching of practical and social skills along with underpinning esoteric and ethical principles. The Kōhanga Reo movement has promoted the principle of whānau development through involvement.

Relevant and mixed curricula

Māori began teaching their children before they were born. While the content of the lessons may have been complex and difficult, the learning was incremental and familiar.

New knowledge, skills and activities were related to preceding and following lessons. The basis for lessons was what children had already become familiar with. Historical discourse, whakapapa and related activities taught the children:

- where they were located geographically and genealogically
- who and what were the important social and cultural icons
- how to generate mana and economic power through hard work and guile.

The lessons were familiar to those who were in constant contact with the children. The familiarity of the lessons may have created clearings for deep analyses and interpretations.

Streaming

Children were selected to attend a variety of lessons. Often the selection was carried out before birth.

Especially gifted children were selected to attend institutions of higher learning. They often learnt complex esoteric conventions and beliefs. If a child was talented at particular tasks, they might be streamed so that they could build on their natural talents and so enhance their hapū and whānau mana and economic wellbeing.

Metaphor, allusion and surprise

Metaphors, allusions, historical events, relationships (e.g. waka, iwi, hapū) and community resources were often used as signposts to learning and teaching.

The use of metaphors and allusions may have created a sense of familiarity with what was being taught. While metaphors could be complex and convoluted, they could also be simple and familiar. Movement into new intellectual territory was supported by familiar metaphorical signposts.

Multi-level relationships between curricula and teaching practices

Different media were harnessed to teach specific subjects. Those subjects did not exist in isolation but to varying degrees touched on all other subjects. These types of relationships released infinite potential.

Hooking new learning to the familiar

Relationships between curricula and the environments or contexts in which students lived were strong and recognisable. Learning new topics, which were seamlessly or obliquely related to what was recognisable, allowed for controlled-risk experimentation and relaxed learning.

Perspectives rather than answers

Considered and imaginative perspectives may have been as valuable as correct answers. Again this led to limitless potential and unpredictable, and sometimes exciting, understandings.

Gender-specific learning

Because the economy was based on the potential productiveness of all community members, individuals were often encouraged to enhance their natural capacities. It was considered that women and men had different capacities that required harnessing for community wellbeing.

Life-long learning

Understanding of particular concepts would expand as the student matured.

Simple understandings leading to complex analysis

Subjects were approached as if they required simple understandings in the first instance and then became more complex as understandings became deeper, more expansive and integrated into other ideas and analysis.

Symbiotic relationships

Relationships between teachers and learners were mutual teaching and learning experiences.

Peer assessment

Assessment was carried out when tasks were being performed before or with the community. The results may have been measured by the level of audience and participant support and enthusiasm.

THE MĀORI/PĀKEHĀ INTERFACE

The introduction of Western pedagogies to New Zealand accompanied the arrival of Christian missionaries. This heralded new (to Māori) world views, which often subjected Māori conventions to close scrutiny and criticism.

> ... The parents exercise no control over their children in everything appertaining to the child, the child is cock of the walk. This is true and a real obstacle in the way of those who want to instruct them. (Grace, 1895)

When Pākehā settlers began to arrive in the mid to late 19th century, a number of philosophical and resource-related dilemmas arose for the Māori community:

> The land will gradually pass over to European hands.... There is one fact that needs to be carefully borne in mind by anyone who wishes to come to a just conclusion with regard to the state of affairs in Otorohanga and that is that there are two very distinct parties among the Natives here. One party includes the educated and respectable half-castes... the more intelligent of the young Māori men of rank, and those who are in favour of progress: the other party... is made up of two or three old chiefs, many influential women, and the old fashioned Māoris who are opposed to all innovation. (Pope, 1889)

At the same time as immigration gained momentum, the Māori population decreased (Pool, 1991). In some cases Māori communities deliberately isolated themselves. This action was often taken to ensure resource ownership and community safety. Some officials at the time felt it necessary to infiltrate Māori communities:

> ... I much regret that my account must be a very gloomy and unsatisfactory one concerning the Kawhia and Aotea schools.... It must be remembered that these mission stations are situated in the very heart, the very hot-bed of

> Kingism and Hauhauism, just where everything relating to the Pākehā would be most vehemently opposed, and this circumstance must be taken into account in the consideration of such a disheartening state of things.... If the Government discontinued its aid, it would be abandoning the field to Kingism and heathenism.... On the other hand, however unsatisfactory the present state of things, its retention will secure, so to speak, an ember alight, an established nucleus which can be enlarged or amended for the educational, moral, and industrial improvement of the Native race, exactly where most wanted, and where it would be most advantageous when the Māori is again in his right mind. (AJHR, 1875)

However, other Pākehā commentators noted that those communities that purposely isolated themselves were relatively stable compared to those that had been assimilated or at least integrated into the general population:

> ... The difference between the Kingites and the Māoris that Europeans are accustomed to see is very marked. The men and women are healthy-looking, while the number of children playing about, and of fine stout infants to be seen in the arms of their mothers, is remarkable. It is sad to think that those natives who have least to do with Europeans are in every respect the best of their race; but so it is. It is sad to them, because the separation which at present exists cannot continue for ever.... (*New Zealand Herald*, 9 May 1878)

Where Māori communities were exposed to unchecked Pākehā influences, a different story could be told. The Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives (1878) notes that 'the "Kupapa" or "Friendlies" are still a long way behind the Hauhaus in prosperity; they do not appear to be any better circumstanced than they were ten years ago'.

And much to the frustration of many Pākehā, even where there was relative compliance Māori displayed resistance to having their children indoctrinated in particular ways:

> Every facility has been given to the native parents to educate their children. Not only have schools been provided for them by the Government, but they have been relieved of the cost of maintaining them. All the Māoris require to do is to send their children, but this a great many refuse to do, and if it were not for interest taken in the matter by the local Government officers, and such influential natives as Kerei Taiaroa, Irai Tihau, and Te Rore, the number of Native children receiving instruction would be exceedingly small. It is hardly possible for those who have not experienced the senseless opposition offered by many of the Natives to the attempts made to educate their children to understand how people usually so intelligent can refuse to avail themselves of those institutions which can also restore their race to a position of influence in the State. The absence of schools supplies the Māoris with a good cry that they are neglected; when they are provided with them they either do not send their children, or, if they do, they seem at pains to hinder their advancement in learning.... The only effectual remedy would be to make education compulsory.... Why should the State allow these Māori children to grow up in ignorance and vice under the very walls of the schools, provided at such cost to rescue them from such evils, but which their parents, to gratify a silly whim, will not allow them to enter.... (Rev. J.W. Stack, Christchurch, to the Hon. The Native Minister, Christchurch, 27 May 1876)

Where Pākehā began to outnumber Māori, Māori concerns were often subsumed by Pākehā demands.

> ... Of 59 pupils on the roll of the above-mentioned Native School, which is distant some few miles from Te Kuiti, 34 are Europeans, and as the school has now become

> predominantly European in character it may be held to have reached the stage at which the reasons for existence as a school of a special character have largely ceased to exist.... (Education Department, 1923)

Māori often raised a spirited defence against activities they believed seriously threatened their children's welfare and hindered their educational advancement:

> 8th August.... After School today there was a meeting of the School Committee and other Māoris in connection with the proposed transfer of this school to the Auckland Education Board. All present objected very strongly and stated that all the Māoris of the District were determined to oppose the transfer by every means in their power. (Education Department, 1903)

It was within this context that Māori either responded or reacted to new challenges. Native schools were established and then dispatched. Māori boarding schools were created which produced Western-educated leaders such as Ngata, Pomare and Buck. From first contact to the land wars of the 1860s and the incursions of the Native/Māori Land Court, Māori leaders who were steeped in iwi traditions created new realities for their people. Te Ua Haumene, Te Kooti, Te Whiti, Tohu, Rua Kenana, Te Puea, Ratana and others adopted many Pakeha conventions and then adapted them to Māori beliefs and cultural requirements.

Māori experiences of the last 150 years have created a range of attitudes towards and perceptions of education. Meanwhile Pakeha attitudes to and perceptions of Māori generally and Māori students in particular have been formed within this context.

Reaction to early European teaching and learning practices

A selection of 19th century records, including Department of Education archives, reveals that the introduction of Western education was met with a variety of Māori responses.

On one hand, many Māori felt that if they were going to survive, participate in, and engage with a rapidly changing socio-economic and political environment, there was a need to draw on what that education had to offer:

> ... Perhaps, I need hardly draw the attention of your Dept. to the great need of educating the Māori children. Coming [sic] in contact, as they invariably are, with the lowest stratum (morally) of European civilization, they imbibe almost all their vices;- and it is incumbent on the Government of this country, and all true men and women — in the interests of society, humanity, and the future welfare of the Māori Race, to try and raise, the once 'noble savage' morally and intellectually, rather than allow them to fall lower, and lower and become a curse rather than a blessing to the community. (Letter to the Secretary of the Education Department, Wellington, from John Ormsby, 21 January 1897)

On the other hand, others were less than enthusiastic:

> . . . The scholars are mostly half castes or quarter caste. Probably as time goes by the pure Māori will abandon their present position of passive hostility and send their children to the school. (H.B. Kirk, School Inspector's Report, 7 October 1887)

Māori resistance to Western European teaching and learning practices can be seen in the context of resistance to Pākehā hegemony. According to Simon (1990, p.135):

> The history of the Māori encounter with schooling reveals that the education system has played a significant role in the securing of Pākehā economic and political dominance during the nineteenth century and in maintaining that dominance throughout the twentieth century.

Earlier in the century a number of Māori crewmen who sailed on ships that traded between the Bay of Islands and Sydney gained literacy and some English while attending Church Missionary Society (CMS) schools

in Australia. Samuel Marsden saw Western literacy as a vehicle for expanding the boundaries of Christianity and the influence of the CMS (Binney, 1968). One of these students, Ruatara, prepared the way for Marsden to establish his first mission in Aotearoa/New Zealand on Christmas Day, 1814.

Pakeha educators were convinced that the type of education they were imparting to Māori was a 'divine blessing' (AJHR, 1856), that would deliver them from their own shortcomings: '... such as Native ignorance and neglect.... Native improvidence.... ' (AJHR, 1884).

The great kupapa rangatira, Ropata Wahawaha, earlier supported the two preceding statements by exhorting his people to adopt Pakeha ways of being:

> *Ka riro te matauranga o te poropititanga o to koutou*
> *tupuna ki tetahi iwi ke, matau atu ai, mohio atu ai,*
> *rangatira atu ai, nui atu ai,*
> *tiketike atu ai, pono atu ai tika atu ai, rawe atu ai.*
>
> The knowledge... is in the Possession of a strange people, with them are wisdom, knowledge, prosperity, greatness, power, truth, advancement, and all that is excellent.
>
> (Wahawaha, 1874)

Behavioural modification in Māori children as well as their parents and communities was considered a priority:

> ... The influence of the Native school teacher and his wife over the members of the Native community amongst whom they live is, in the nature of the case, of a more powerful character than that exerted by an ordinary public school teacher over the members of a European community. While all of them are performing with more or less fidelity and success their ordinary duties as school teachers, many of them may be regarded as missionaries of civilization... exercising much influence for good not only over their youthful scholars, but also over the elder members of the Native community.... (AJHR, 1884)

However, to the frustration of many officials of the day, the 'divine blessing' was not always as welcome as they had hoped:

> ... They are also extremely conservative, and cling with the utmost tenacity to hurtful Māori customs.... (AJHR, 1897)

> ... On my visit to Parengarenga in March last, I had a meeting with people, and a thorough investigation into the cause of failure. I found that the minds of the Natives had been seriously influenced against the teacher. Various charges were brought against him, but nothing but a strong prejudice on the part of the parents and children could be clearly established.... (AJHR, 1875)

They found an easy scapegoat in Māori parents and their communities:

> ... I fear from what has transpired that the people are not sufficiently impressed with the importance of educating their children to make any sacrifice for them in that direction.... At Ahipara, I regret to say, no improvement has taken place in the feeling of the people towards the teacher, Major Wood. At a meeting held some time ago to inquire into the cause, I found that much of the blame rested with the parents.... (AJHR, 1875)

> ... People often hate what they are most afraid of, or what they want and can't get. Hating pakehas is a good excuse too, look at what the children say.... These children were telling the truth, you [Māori] parents had taught them what to feel suspicion, distrust, dislike [of Pakeha].... (Turei, 1962a)

They proclaimed the contributions of Pākehā teachers and philanthropists:

> ... in spite of all these drawbacks and difficulties, fairly satisfactory results are being obtained, and I think that it may be said that, on the whole, the efforts of the Resident Magistrates, of Native school teachers, of clergymen, and of philanthropic Europeans generally, are in many districts

> overcoming, to some small extent at all events, the bad influences that tend to keep the Māoris down and to lead to their extermination.... (AJHR, 1884)

These attitudes were fuelled by a global dismissal of Māori ways of operating, especially in regard to Māori child-rearing and teaching practices, which were believed to undermine the contributions teachers and others made to ensure that Māori conformed to what was considered acceptable modes of behaviour:

> ... The Māori children, left by their parents to act according to their own perverse wills, and unaccustomed to restraint of any kind, are not easily subdued; while on the administering of necessary correction, if they run away from school, they are generally received with open arms.... (AJHR, 1857)

For their part, Māori parents were often repelled by this 'necessary correction' and often took action to remove their children from danger (Ritchie, 1996).

> ... It has to be said, however, that some of the Māoris come from other places... one girl coming by train daily from Ongaruhe (sic), her parents paying her fare in order that she may attend school 'where she will not be beaten so severely'.... (Memorandum to the Secretary for Education from William Bird, School Inspector, 8 June 1911)

> ... I believe the children look upon me as being somewhat too severe... but native children have not that respect for their parents that European ones generally have and there is the difficulty.... (Letter to the Secretary for Education from W.H.S. Beamish, school-teacher, 14 April 1890)

Some Māori parents were also concerned about curriculum content:

> ... When these lands were given up it was on the understanding that they were to be for the school and Church (Church of England). During the fighting the

> schools and Churches were abandoned and have not been resumed since. Had the schools been re-established since the war, we would have availed ourselves of them and sent our children. But we would not have availed ourselves of the religious teaching of the missionaries. It is true that we drove the missionaries away years ago but we desire that the schools should be returned to benefit our children.
>
> (Statement made by Taate Wharekaua to GT Wilkinson, 15 January 1884)

Others were concerned with the effect of Western education on Māori students:

> ... People who are quite outside of the Māori circle can hardly understand fully how it is that long-continued residence among Europeans can render a young Māori unfit for getting on with his people if he in any way maintains the ground that he has gained—that is, his real advance; noticeable as such from the European point of view. It comes about in some such way as this: The young Māori, who has been at boarding-school long enough to cause him to feel that his people are strange, foreign, and somewhat unsatisfactory from his own newer point of view, finds that his view of his people is, after the rejoicings connected with his return are over, or even before in some cases, exactly their view with regard to him and his goings on: they have already found out that their wanderer has returned to them quite spoiled—that is, for any purpose that they could, in their least critical moods, consider useful. Finding him so altered and disfigured from their Māori stand point, they have come to believe that he is far less industrious than he used to be. (AJHR, 1902)

In 1880, officials in this country advocated removing Māori children from their villages and families and educating them in boarding-schools, in the expectation that 'the few who would learn European habits and ideas would carry civilising influences back to the pa'. However, reports expressed some resignation: 'experience has shown that this plan has

been successful in only a few instances, and by no means in proportion to the expense and labour bestowed' (AJHR, 1880).

Both these attitudes permeated the education system for several decades. The outcome was that Māori were often denied access to academic and/or professional education which would have prepared them for functioning fully and taking control within an imposed Western European capitalist system.

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CONTEMPORARY MĀORI EDUCATION

The New Zealand Curriculum Framework

Because this document has been created to illuminate pedagogical practices and principles, issues surrounding curricula have not been a central focus. The following is a brief description of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework as it was defined under the terms of the 1991 Education Amendment Act.

The New Zealand Curriculum consists of a series of national curriculum statements which 'sets out national directions for schooling and provides for consistency in classroom programmes' (Ministry of Education, 1993, p.9). To be more specific, it defines what is expected of all schools in terms of learning principles, aims and objectives.

One statement of intent proclaims that:

> All young people in New Zealand have the right to gain, through the state schooling system, a broad, balanced education that prepares them for effective participation in society. (p.5)

Pedagogical practices are expected to be aligned to curriculum requirements.

The following have been designated as 'The Essential Learning Areas/ Nga Tino Wāhanga Ako'.

Language and languages/Te Kōrero me ngā reo

Language development is considered essential to 'intellectual growth' as well as to communication and the transmission of 'values and culture'.

Mathematics/Pāngarau

The skills associated with mathematics include the ability to 'calculate, to estimate, and to reason logically'.

Science/Pūtaiao

Science creates understandings about the environment and the universe and 'fosters curiosity'.

Social sciences/Tikanga-ā-iwi

Broad understandings of society allow students to become 'confident, informed, and responsible participants'.

The arts/Ngā toi

Because the arts are considered particular forms of individual and collective expression they are linked to 'imagination, thinking, and feeling'.

Health and physical well-being/Hauora

Good health is a vital ingredient of personal and collective 'physical, social, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual' well-being.

Contemporary issues in Māori education

For a number of years the delivery of education to the Māori community has caused concern within and outside the community.

In a Royal Commission report on social policy (AJHR, 1988) the Commission claimed that, contrary to the Treaty of Waitangi, the state education system had purposely introduced assimilation policies that had marginalised and diminished Māori culture and language. The report cites Freire regarding the 'pedagogy of the oppressed', saying:

> No pedagogy is neutral. All have form and content related to power in society... reproduction of dominant ideology depends on its power to make reality opaque. (Cited in AJHR, 1988)

The rise of immersion and bilingual Māori-medium education has created a demand for national assessment standards and instruments, along with guidance and support for appropriate teaching/learning strategies that contribute to Māori student achievement. These demands have released ripples of support among Pakeha educators who have similar concerns (*Access*, 1990).

What all this means and whether it contributes to positive outcomes for Māori can only be understood by gathering the fullest possible range of relevant material and information. A 1995 OECD report highlights the need to develop pedagogies that meet individual differences (OECD, 1995).

In 1996 another OECD study reported on effective school interventions and presented a menu of effective interventions and pedagogical approaches that had been undertaken in member countries. These included classroom arrangements, provision for students who have a variety of interests and backgrounds, improved teacher/student interaction and communication, and providing appropriate support systems. These approaches cascaded into strategies and tasks (Fergusson, 1996).

Two years earlier, the New Zealand Ministry of Education had outlined a broad educational strategic plan that would extend into the new millennium. One of the plan's aims was to ensure 'full participation and achievement by Māori in all areas of education' (Ministry of Education, 1994). Although pedagogy is not explicitly mentioned, a statement in a Te Puni Kōkiri review of the Ministry of Education is inclusive in its coverage:

> Implicit in the Ministry's objective of promoting improvements in Māori education outcomes is the need to assess the impact of policies and programmes on these outcomes.... (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1997, p.24)

It was also recommended that the Education Review Office provide environmental assessment data on education services, and their delivery to and reception by Māori learners. This information could be added to a cumulative and coherent store of information: 'Synthesis of existing information would enable the Ministry to assess impacts and outcomes for Māori' (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1997, p.25).

While the above is a necessary step to reaching some understandings, a small number of organisations and individuals have woven together their own definitions and developed their own strategies. For example, Te Kōhanga Reo Trust has been promoting the concept of 'akonga', which

is defined as the total integration of teaching and learning into a single concept (Smith, 1993).

A mainstream English-medium school in central Auckland (Richmond Road) adopted a particular teaching/learning style that incorporated Māori, Pacific Island and mainstream pedagogies, which could be construed as a multicultural approach. The principal devised a vertical grouping system which developed into four rōpu (groups) that operated in shared and separate spaces. The example of non-graded rural schools was also followed (Corsan, 1990) and recorded earlier:

> ... In contrast to the isolation of teachers in single-cell classroom schools, Richmond Road teachers work in a setting of intense collectivity. Children and staff interact in complex organisational 'systems', as they are always referred to: vertical/family groupings of children; non-hierarchical relationships.... (Cazden, 1989)

The Kura Kaupapa Māori movement (Māori-medium primary school education) as well as Te Whāriki/Early Childhood Education (a document created around the delivery of early childhood education) have adopted and adapted the principles and practices of *Te Aho Matua* (a document that encapsulates a philosophical and theoretical framework), that loosely encompasses the concepts of Te Ira Tangata, Te Reo, Ngā Iwi, Te Ao, Ahuatanga and Te Tino Uaratanga (Mataira, 1998).

It has been suggested that the creation of Te Kōhanga Reo and Ngā Kura Kaupapa were strong responses to:

> ... a passionately felt belief among many Māori that the European-style school system, that has been their sole avenue to formal education for over a century within the state provided system, is not appropriate organisationally or pedagogically to the sustenance and development of a Polynesian culture. (Corsan, 1990)

In 1982 Pere agreed with Pierre Bourdieu's contention that individuals

are socialised within family contexts, where they gain linguistic and socio-cultural competencies. This opinion has recently been supported by a South Auckland secondary school teacher, who argues that responsibility for what is perceived as Māori educational underachievements lies firmly within the whanau.

> The real cause of Māori failure in education has nothing to do with the classroom, but lies in a more politically sensitive domain, the home. (The School Daily, 3rd October 2000)

This echoes statements made 125 years earlier:

> I found that much of the blame rested with the parents... I must impress upon your attention . . .solely [with] the parents... (AJHR, 1875)

While there may be elements of truth, the particular spin these and related statements seem to have taken has been responded to in a variety of ways. In 1997 the Education Review Office (ERO) advised that:

> To impr ve the schooling for current and future children... a strategic education development plan is urgently required. This plan must be aimed at whānau... (p. 17)

Earlier Māori began calling for a form of cultural autonomy. This does not imply separatism but supports a sufficiently resourced, parallel system that operates within Māori terms of reference:

> Organisational structure, content of the curriculum, forms of evaluation and pedagogical styles will also reflect the ethos of a basic Māori structure. (Penetito, 1992)

Fourteen years later, Pita Sharples confirmed this by arguing that,

> Formal education in New Zealand should more adequately reflect Māori philosophies, principles and practices and should be in accord with Māori aspirations for their people... (Te Manatu Mātauranga Māori Hui Whanui, programme, 13th-14th September, 2000)

Education policies

The Ministry of Education's *Education for the 21st Century* (1994) contains three goals of particularly significance for Māori:

1. Equality of educational opportunity for all to reach their potential and take their full place in society.
2. Success in learning for those with special needs.
3. Full participation and achievement by Māori in all areas of education.

Although the goals are noble in intent, they have met with some scepticism from Māori (Clark, Smith & Pomare, 1996). While the document states that the Ministry of Education recognises the Treaty of Waitangi, the Government does not assume responsibility for improving on poor educational outcomes for Māori. Rather, it has loaded learning institutions and practitioners with the tasks of identifying barriers and removing them. It would seem there are few guidelines that could inform policy, which would in turn promote practices that would achieve the first goal.

The second goal requires teachers to acquire wide-ranging skills, which will cater to specific needs and disparate abilities. These include the requirement that teachers provide culturally appropriate services for Māori students. Unfortunately, the goal is more specific to students with disabilities than to those who are alienated from mainstream education provision. Because Māori are disproportionately represented among the alienated (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998), alternative provisions such as the introduction of appropriate pedagogies could have beneficial outcomes. ERO (1999) supports the Te Puni Kokiri contention, citing what their reviewers believe are exemplars where 'in the best examples, schools have recognised and analysed the characteristics and needs of Māori learners' (ERO, 1999, p. 18).

The third goal highlights another issue:

> ... Alternative education centres and delivery forms are options to provide for both difference and choice in the delivery of the curriculum.... (Clarke et al., 1996, p. 49)

Education policy in this country can be seen in terms of four successive waves:

- assimilation
- integration
- multiculturalism
- biculturalism.

To address Māori needs and demands, Sullivan (1993) advocates a bicultural approach which acknowledges tangata whenua status and confirms that acknowledgement by focusing on partnership, rather than the domination and primacy of one group.

To achieve something approximating biculturalism, Hirsh and Scott (1988) propose that barriers to Māori achievement may be overcome by empowering the Māori community within the education environment so that appropriate curricula and pedagogies can be created.

Te Runanga o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori has successfully lobbied the Government to enshrine Te Aho Matua in legislation (Tuteao, 1998). However, the challenge it presents does not come without some cost to the education environment and cannot succeed without practitioners' commitment. The cost is in jettisoning current thinking and adopting a variety of pedagogies. Commitment will require teachers to 'unlearn' what they hold sacrosanct and operate under a different set of principles.

Te Puni Kōkiri's latest report has warned that:

> Greater improvement in participation and achievement within the education sector is critical if social and economic disparities between Māori and non-Māori are to be reduced. (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2000, p. 5)

While this report is another in the tradition of tracking disparities between Māori and non-Māori, it offers little in the way of what action should be taken to improve current situations. What the report does do is make clearings for future action by indicating what the current situation is like.

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Contemporary teaching and learning styles

The following is a brief overview of a number of recommended teaching and learning styles that sometimes reproduce ancient practices, and may contribute to contemporary Māori student engagement in education.

Cazden (1988) found that educational outcomes were dependent on 'what happens in the classroom itself, in the interactions between teachers and students and among students during the regular school day' (p.3).

Teacher/student interactions

Clay (1985) and Kerin (1987) observed the frequency of interchanges between teachers and students. They noticed that some children were invited to 'Talk More' some of the time. From that evidence Cazden asked:

> The question at issue is how to increase that frequency so that all children can have more opportunity to extend their understandings and express more of their ideas. . .so that some children – notably Māori children – do not receive negatively differential treatment in this respect (Cazden, 1988, p.19)

Cazden, Clay and Kerin discovered that many classroom exchanges were 'perfunctory'. The researchers were convinced that while these exchanges may have encouraged some application to tasks, they were neither stimulating nor creative.

Teachers and students learning together

Rowe found that increasing the time that teachers and students work together and exchange ideas and concepts opens avenues for continual reflection, modification and creativity.

> A complex thought system requires a great deal of shared experiences and conversation. It is in talking about what we have done and observed, and in arguing about what we make of our experiences that ideas multiply, become refined, and finally produce new questions and further explorations (Rowe, 1986, p.43)

Group learning

Metge (1983) implied that group learning was an activity which 'Māori themselves recognise as Māori'. This confirms what Thomas stated earlier:

> It seems clear that the introduction of more group-oriented leaning situations in the classroom would provide Polynesian children with an opportunity to use their considerable social talents to the intellectual advantage of all students... (Thomas, 1975, p.42)

While group learning may be preferred, personalised and individual attention is not precluded (Hohepa, 1993). Ka'ai (1990) and Irwin (1992) describe the practice as 'personalised conversations' and 'one to one mentoring' respectively.

On the other hand, ancient philosophies and practices inform contemporary thinking.

> If you look objectively, you can see that the well-being of a group or large number of individuals is more important than that of one single individual... (Dalai Lama, cited by Cutler, 1998, p. 213)

Relevance

A poem composed by an Apache child in Arizona, United States, speaks potently of the lack of relevance mainstream education has for many indigenous children and their communities.

> Have you ever hurt about baskets?
> I have, seeing my grandmother weaving for a long time.
> Have you ever hurt about work?
> I have, because my father works too hard and he tells how he works.
> Have you ever hurt about cattle?
> I have, because my grandfather has been working on the cattle for a long time.
> Have you ever hurt about school?
> I have, because I learned a lot of words from school,
> And they are not my words.
> (Cited by Cazden, 1988, p.23)

Nash found that in conversation with sixth form students that the issue of relevance appears to be important for many students other than Māori:

> ... if you don't know anything about it, it's like, 'What's it got to do with me?' (Nash,1999, p.28)

Pere emphasises the importance of relevance by comparing

> ... the study of geometrical shapes within the natural environment itself – where children can observe the shape, size and colour of trees, leaves, stones, wood... to the practice of children sorting out geometrical shapes from structured apparatus usually plastic, with a limited range of colours, sizes, and no variety of texture. (Pere, 1982, p.69)

Experiencing the natural world

Historical evidence shows that there have been breaches between humanity and the natural world:

> ... we have been, as humans, attempting to separate ourselves from the organic process of the natural world... Our conception of historical time has become truncated and our sense of interest in the larger evolutionary processes of the universe and the earth has been muted (O'Sullivan, 1999, p.95).

O'Sullivan goes on to propose that when the natural world is revealed, it is incumbent on humanity to take on roles of 'participant-observers rather than detached viewers'. It may then follow that teachers have the responsibility of deconstructing former ways of teaching and learning so that desired outcomes are made possible.

Mixed media

To know and understand the natural world it is necessary that:

> The tacit unconscious dimensions of the mind must be valued, and descriptions of the world must be a mixture of the abstract and concrete... (O'Sulivan, 1999, p.95.)

Intergenerational learning

A collaborative research project between Te Kohanga Reo Trust and the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 'Pono ki te Kaupapa Pono ko te Reo: A Study of Early Kohanga Reo Graduates and Their Whānau', shows that when children have been enrolled in Kohanga Reo, it is expected that there will be full participation and education of the wider whānau.

Deep knowledge

Apparently teachers require deep knowledge (Morrison, 1998) to respond in a relevant and realistic way to children's needs and the requirements of the curricula. Co-opting the students' perspectives into learning processes leads to quality learning. Pere (1982) advocates the same when she states that modern traditional Māori teachers know students' cultural, historical, personal and familial backgrounds. To gain deep knowledge, teachers and schools may have to create clearings for parents and whanau to be involved in their children's learning.

> School and community relationships at Richmond Road School are strong and characterised by a surprising degree of involvement from parents in all aspects of school life...
>
> (May, 1994, p. 86)

Clarke et al. (1996) argue that teachers need to fulfil all students' requirements by knowing their '. . .needs, desires, hopes, expectations, backgrounds and capabilities'. They go on to ask:

> Why should there be the belief borne out by common practice that the same form of delivery will suit all students? Such an approach lacks credibility, has no foundation in educational theory and denies the individuality of every student.... (Clarke et al., 1996, p.31–32)

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Te Whāriki/Early childhood curriculum

Te Whāriki is a set of guidelines for early childhood education. They have been included because they serve as examples of how ancient traditions have been integrated into a modern educational context. While they are compatible with the New Zealand Curriculum Framework, they also account for Māori perspectives and requirements and include guides for pedagogical practices. The following aspirations are an integral part of the guidelines:

> To grow up as competent and confident learners and communicators, healthy in mind, body, and spirit, secure in their sense of belonging and in the knowledge that they make a valued contribution to society.... (Te Whāriki, 1993)

Te Whāriki/Early Childhood Curriculum has four fundamental principles (ngā matapono):

1. Whakamana. Te Whāriki empowers the mokopuna to learn and grow.
2. Kotahitangi. Te Whāriki reflects the holistic way mokopuna learn and grow.
3. Whānau Tangata. The wider world of the whānau, the hapū, the iwi, the kōhanga reo whānau and the community is an integral part of Te Whāriki.
4. Ngā Hononga. Mokopuna learn through responsive and reciprocal relationships with people, places, and things.

Te Whāriki also has five strands:

1. Mana Atua (wellbeing).
2. Mana Whenua (belonging).
3. Mana Tangata (contribution).
4. Mana Reo (communication).
5. Mana Aotūroa (exploration).

The strands arise from the principles. Each embodies an area of learning and development that is woven into the daily programme of the early childhood setting and has its own associated goals for learning (Te Whāriki, 1993).

This section explains the four principles and five strands with excerpts from waiata to help illustrate them.

The guiding principles

The guiding principles have been developed within a Māori cultural framework, they have ancient roots and are as valid today as they were when they were first created. No date or requisite circumstances can be identified as being pivotal to their creation or development but by tracking back through waiata, whakatauaki and kōrero tawhito their uses within everyday life can be rediscovered, interpreted and tailored to current circumstances.

Whakamana

Whakamana is defined as a process that empowers children to learn and grow.

Breaking down the word shows that it brings with it a range of beliefs and understandings. The term has been translated as: give effect to, give prestige to, make effective, and rectify. An advance on this term is 'whakamanamana' which has been translated as rejoice, exult and gratify.

When separating 'mana' from 'whakamana', the translation is authority, control, influence, prestige, power, psychic force, effectual, binding, authoritative, having influence or power, vested with effective authority, be effectual and take effect (Williams, 1992). Whaka is a common prefix that gives to an adjective, noun or verb the sense of 'the act of' or 'to cause to' (Reed & Brougham, 1978). 'Mana' defines children's position within communities. It is inherited from tupuna/ancestors and places children within a cosmic order.

> *... Kei te kukune itanga mai*
> *i Hawaiki ko te ahua ia....*
>
> ... The primeval pregnancy
> began in Hawaiki....
>
> (Ngata & Jones, Ngā Moteatea, Part Two, Waiata Oriori, Po! Po!, na Enoka Te Pakaru, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, pp. 152–153)

E kore au e ngaro; he kakano
i ruruia mai i Rangiatea.

I will never be lost; the seed was
sown even in Rangiatea.

(Whakatauaki, anon., n.d.)

Whakamana in education

In the traditional Māori education context, defining children's positions and status integrated them into communities while informing those communities of their particular obligations to their children. This was done by the continual recitation of whakapapa, waiata and whakatauākī.

Communities/whanaunga protected children while making sure they acquired the appropriate socio-cultural weapons to guarantee their own and future generations' survival.

... Tēna anō rā tō tāua kahu,
Nā tō matua rā nāna i
waihanga,
Nā Rua-te-pupuke, nā Rua-te-
mahara,
Nā Rua-te-hotahota, nā Tua-
waihanga;
Hei kahu rā mō tāua ki te pō....

... There is, of course, our cloak
It was woven by your parent,
By Recess-of-knowledge, Recess-
of Thought
Recess-of-enterprise, and by
Prodigy-of learning,
As a robe for us into the realms
of night.

(Ngata & Jones, Ngā Mōteatea, Part Three, Waiata Oriori, He Oriori mo Tā-Maunga-o-Te-Rangi, na Te Mā-pere-tahi, Ngāti Porou, pp. 28–35)

While mana was inherited from ancestors, it was also enhanced through an individual's actions. Mana could be lost but it was absolutely critical that this did not happen. Loss of an individual's mana would have negative ramifications for the entire whānau, hapū and iwi. The implication was

that if children felt safe, they would ensure that they would carry, enhance and maintain their whānau's mana for successive generations.

Mana was also tied to human and economic resources. Human resources consisted of whānau, hapū and iwi. These resources blended different levels of reciprocity, depending on the proximity of relationships. Economic resources entailed jurisdiction over various resources such as land, food stocks, forests and fisheries. It was incumbent on the individual not only to protect those resources, but to add value to them. This meant that the whānau could increase its spheres of influence within the hapū, iwi and throughout the world. Because individual skills added value to the whole community and enhanced mana, education and training were embedded into children's upbringing.

For thousands of years, the ancestors of the Māori were some of the most adventurous explorers on earth. They set out from mainland Asia well before recorded history. Māori historiography is peppered with the stories of explorers such as Maui, Aparangi and Kupe. The physical exploration was married to intellectual adventurism. Metaphysical questions were constantly being asked and investigated. The physical and spiritual worlds were so intertwined that it was impossible to separate the two.

The Maui and Tawhaki cycles prove this. Although they are recited in a succession of metaphors, it can be seen that Maui's fishing up of the country is a metaphor for discovery, while his death by being crushed in Hine-nui-te-Po's vagina is a coded tale later retold by modern psychoanalysts.

Exploration enhanced an individual's mana. The discovery of lands ensured the survival and increased the wealth and mana of the community. Metaphysical and intellectual exploration was encouraged and recorded for posterity, to be used as cultural mnemonics for future generations.

Rukuhia e hoa ma
Te Moananui a Kiwa
Haria atu ra
Te aroha o te iwi e.

Cross dear friends
The Great Ocean of Kiwa

And take with you the love of
the people.
(Ngawai, 1985, *Rukuhia, 1939–1945*)

While exploration was encouraged, care and planning were considered crucial to any venture.

He mate i te marama
Though the moon dies, it comes
to life again, but you cannot
return, so do not expose yourself
to danger.
(Whakatauaki, anon., n.d., Reed & Brougham, p. 456)

Maui obviously did not learn this lesson well enough!

Whakamana contributes to stated aims. Recalling tupuna/ancestors and identifying resources integrates children into their communities (mana whenua) and gives them a sense of security (mana atua). While achieving those aims, it then incorporates reciprocal responsibilities between parents and the community and children.

Children are viewed as part of a whakapapa continuum. Their contributions (mana tangata) simultaneously feed into the past, present and future and ensure the survival of themselves and their communities. Reciting whakapapa, kōrero tawhito, waiata and whakatauākī teaches children about their communities' histories and offers them a variety of options for their futures (mana aotūroa). The acts of reciting and teaching (mana reo) whakapapa, kōrero tawhito and waiata empower children by offering them the medium of language. Because children are part of a continuum, mātua (parents) and kaumatua (elders) are viewed in the same way and learn from their children as they teach.

Kotahitanga

Kotahitanga, as interpreted by Te Whāriki, reflects the holistic way children learn and grow. Although the term can be used in this context, it has a far wider scope. The literal meaning of the word is 'as one'. Kotahi means 'one' or 'together with', hence whakakotahi means 'to make one', or 'unify'. Tanga is described as a nominalising suffix (Bauer,

Parker & Teepa, 1997). The word kotahitanga means 'oneness', 'singleness' or 'togetherness' (Williams, 1992). The term is most often used in the context of unity, either for working towards a common goal or as a protection against a common threat.

Iwi, hapū and whānau were founded and sustained through kotahitanga. In the past, Māori lived in small, close-knit communities with all members being descendants of common ancestors. Because of this, each member had common understandings about their history, which were continually validated through reciting whakapapa, waiata, kōrero tawhito and whakatauākī.

Through the recorded deeds of their ancestors, Māori learnt to conduct their lives within certain inherited guidelines. These guidelines did not limit options but were used as lessons for living and cautiously extending horizons. Māori did not face the future because there was nothing to face. The future was unknowable, but the past was there to learn from. Māori proceeded backwards into the future while looking to the past at what their ancestors did and how they responded to particular prompts and circumstances. This did not stifle innovation, but allowed individuals and groups to gauge the outcomes of particular ventures. Kotahitanga can be described as co-operation or support.

Ka mimiti te puna ki
Taumarere
ka toto ki Hokianga:
Ka mimiti te puna ki Hokianga
ka toto ki Taumārere.

When the spring dries up at
Taumarere
it draws on the spring at
Hokianga
When the spring dries up at
Hokianga,
it draws on the spring at
Taumarere.

(Barlow, Ngāpuhi whakatauākī, p. 57)

Contemporary use of the word 'kotahitanga' articulates two meanings:

- It is often used as a medium of association among a variety of Māori groups when mediating between themselves and the Crown.
- It is also used, as Hauraki Paora of Ngāti Whātua ki Kaipara described earlier this century, as whakapapatanga—the ties that bind people through whanaungatanga and whakapapa (kinship and affiliation) (Kawharu, 1992).

At the Kohimarama Conferences of 1860 and 1879, which were attended by Christianised Māori, the general understanding was that Māori and Pakeha resided within a single Christian community as one people under God's law (Kawharu, 1992).

Kotahitanga can therefore be described as community unity. It can be confined to whānau, hapū, iwi and ethnic groups or be extended to encompass a unified society or world. In this context, Kotahitanga is shaded depending on emotional, socio-economic and political relationships.

Because Kotahitanga expresses unification, it can be extrapolated to a unity of purpose. This entails the holistic way in which children learn.

Kotahitanga in education

Kotahitanga contributes to the stated aims by emphasising the unification of purpose. This means that learning and teaching can develop as an integrated whole.

Unification of purpose creates a sense of security and wellbeing (mana atua) for children because support is drawn from different strands to facilitate good management and clear directions. Unification establishes alliances, which protect groups and individuals within those groups, while establishing common understandings, objectives and goals (mana whenua).

Implicit in unity is a common purpose. Common purposes have allied expectations that all parties within the unified group will make appropriate contributions to ensure that a common good is established and maintained (mana tangata). Unity can only happen if common goals can be broadcast

(mana reo) and acted upon. Exploring options and establishing a number of mutually beneficial relationships (mana aoturoa) can contribute to the wellbeing of the community and to its offspring.

Ki nga whakaeke haumi.
Ally yourself with those who
Have already banded together.
(Whakatauāki, anon., Reed & Brougham, 1978)

The following whakatauāki illustrates the holistic character of Māori education and child-rearing practices:

Nau i whatu te kākahu,
he tāniko taku.
You weave the cloak
and I the border.
(Whakatauāki, anon., Reed & Brougham, 1978)

Whānau Tangata

Whānau Tangata, as defined by Te Whāriki, encompasses the wider world of family and community. There is a recognition of the interdependency between the wellbeing of children, whānau, education deliverers and communities. The literal meaning of whānau is 'be born', 'be in childbed', 'offspring', 'family group', or 'family'. Tangata is described as 'man', 'human-being'. Whakatangata means 'assume human shape' (Williams, 1992). Finding an ancient meaning for the term 'Whānau Tangata' has been elusive.

The interactions between an individual and the natural and metaphysical world, and their interdependency, were understood to be a natural phenomenon that prescribed the intersecting relationships of everything that exists. The distillation of relationships became more pronounced as they moved closer to individuals and the groups they identified with. Knowledge of the interconnectedness of all things reinforced a cosmic order while opening panoramas of visions and opportunities. The concentration of that interconnectedness onto individuals and their whānau and communities was supposed to create a sense of security.

The following whakatauākī broadcasts that individuals are neither alone nor ever lost if they recognise and continually affirm their connections. There is also a recognition that the deeds of ancestors and an individual's current situation are intimately tied. It was generally accepted that the past has a direct influence over the present and the future. The layers of interdependency were limitless:

Mate atu he tete kura
whakaete mai he tete kura.

A fern frond dies,
but another rises to take its place.

(Whakatauākī, anon., Reed & Brougham, 1978, p. 462)

Interdependent and co-operative relationships were often created or strengthened through marriage and then reinforced by the birth of children:

He hono tangata e kore e motu;
kapa he taura waka e motu.

A human bond cannot be severed;
unlike a canoe rope, it cannot be severed.

(Whakatauākī, anon., Reed & Brougham, 1978, p. 516)

At the same time as childbirth consummated relationships between women and men, it strengthened inter- and intra-communal bonds and alliances. Children were physical manifestations of communal unity, strength, hopes and aspirations:

He iti tangata, e tupu;
he iti toki, e iti tonu iho.

A little child will grow;
a little adze always remains small.

(Whakatauākī, anon., Reed & Brougham, 1978, p. 459)

If there is an understanding of a cosmic or universal interdependence between all things, children's visions and aspirations can be extended well beyond themselves, their whānau and their communities (mana aotūroa).

The focusing of the concept of Whānau Tangata onto the inter-relationships within whānau and communities creates a sense of security and belonging while reinforcing individual obligations to the community

(mana atua, mana whenua). Reciprocity is the fuel of interdependence. To receive and give with equanimity allowed individuals, whānau and communities to create a sense of balance, permanence and security (mana tangata). Kinship and socio-cultural, economic and metaphysical relationships were given expression through language (mana reo).

Ngā Hononga

Ngā Hononga has been described by Te Whāriki as the way children learn through responsive and reciprocal relationships with people, places and things.

The literal meaning of hono is 'splice', 'join', 'continual' (Williams, 1992). In waiata tawhito the term is used in the context of kin or relationships:

> *... E hika ma e, utaina mai*
> *ra e*
> *ki runga i te kanoi, kia tika*
> *Ko te hono, e....*
>
> ... I look about in vain, my
> own kin,
> For you are parted from me....
>
> (Ngata & Jones, Ngā Mōteatea, Part One, Waiata Tangi, He tangi mo Papaka Te Naeroa, pp. 212–213)

Kinship links are attached to a number of understandings. They imply family relationships along with obligations and rights. Reciprocal arrangements meant that an individual had obligations to protect the welfare and interests of whānau and conversely could expect the same. These relationships could be extrapolated to include everything that exists.

When the great Tainui leader, Maniapoto, was dying, he called his kinfolk together. His last words were:

> *Kia mau ki tena*
> *Kia mau ki te kawau maro.*
>
> Hold fast to that,
> Hold fast to the swoop of the
> cormorant.
>
> (Kelly, 1949, pp. 160–161)

This dying utterance became a Ngāti Maniapoto motto. It encapsulated the need to maintain unity. Ngāti Maniapoto, like the cormorant, travelled in a chevron formation. The outside barriers were provided by young fighting men while women, children and the elderly occupied the interior. While the outside ranks protected those they surrounded, the inner ranks supported their protectors. This reciprocal relationship was perceived to be an almost indestructible structure and, to a certain extent, has been maintained until today.

Because kinship entailed support, co-operation and unity, children could feel safe in the knowledge that they were secure. Expectations of reciprocity ensured that children would enhance the reputations of their ancestors while safeguarding successive generations (mana atua). Reciprocity within a discrete group would produce a sense of belonging (mana whenua), which was how each member interacted and contributed (mana tangata) to the group's welfare.

Kinship bonds were continually renewed through the medium of language (mana reo). They also allowed individuals to extend their boundaries and explore (mana aoturoa) uncharted territory in relative safety.

The following whakatauākī illustrates that women and men are required to co-operate for the welfare of the whānau and iwi:

> *Ko te kaunoti ki te wahine,*
> *Engari te ika hei te tāne tērā.*
> The receiving piece is with the
> woman
> but the fire causing piece is with
> the man.
> (Mead & Grove, 1996, p. 135)

The strands

Mana Atua

Mana Atua is considered a powerful gift for individuals who conform to particular metaphysical principles and carry out appropriate sacred rituals.

... Hoki mai, e hine, ki te ao
ao marama!
Whakatu taua ki aku manu e.

... Return O maiden to the
world of light
Let us pause and pay tribute to
my noble ones.

(Ngata & Jones, Ngā Mōteatea, Part Three, Waiata Oriori, He Oriori mo Whatau-rangi, na Te Rangi-Takoru, Ngāti Apa, pp. 376–379)

Mana Whenua

Mana Whenua signifies jurisdiction over land and land-based resources. Having jurisdiction creates mana and can also be associated with the intrinsic power land has to produce those things that sustain life and contribute to wellbeing and security (Barlow, n.d.). The following whakatauākī refers to the possession or dominion over a particular piece of land from which a community inherits its mana.

Ka wera hoki i te ahi
e mana ana ano.

While the fire burns
the mana is effective.

(Mead & Grove, 1996, p. 65)

Mana Tangata

Mana Tangata is the power an individual gains through their abilities, efforts and taking advantage of all opportunities:

... Ka whaka whenua nga
Hiringa, e tama!
Haramai, e mau to ringa ki te
kete tuari,
Ki te kete tuatea, ki te kete
aronui....

... On this earth is Implanted
all knowledge, O son!
Come, grasp in your hand the
kit of sacred knowledge,
The kit of ancestral knowledge,

the kit of life's knowledge....

(Ngata & Jones, Ngā Mōteatea, Part Three, Waiata Oriori. He Oriori mo Tuteremoana, na Tu-Hoto-Ariki, pp. 2–9)

Mana Reo

Mana Reo signifies the power of language and communication. The following whakatauākī states that without language (especially the Māori language), prestige, land ownership and culture will cease to exist.

Toi te kupu, toi te mana,
toi te whenua.

Hold on to the word, the mana,
the land.

(Mead & Grove, 1996)

Mana Aotūroa

Mana Aotūroa is translated as 'light of day' or 'this world' (Williams, 1992). It often refers to metaphysical or intellectual journeys of self-discovery:

... Ko 'Wahine-ata' koe, e moe
i te moenga
Kei pikipiki koe i te paepae tapu,
I te kaha no Tu. Kauaka ia nei
tupu whakatane
E taea e koe te peehi nga hau,
Kia aropiri mai....

... Thou art now 'Maid of the Dawn'
now dream on your couch
Do not step across the sacred beam
[leading]
To the trail of Tu. Never aspire
to be as men are,
And thou wilt abate the stormy
wind to a gentle breeze....

(Ngata & Jones, Ngā Mōteatea, Part Two, Waiata Oriori, Waikato, Ngāti Haua, Whanganui, pp. 130–133)

'Tu' refers to the god of war and by association anger and rage. In this context the young woman is encouraged to practise negotiation and peace-making skills.

CONCLUSION

When the Western European education system was introduced to Māori in the early 19th century, its proponents believed that they were imparting a 'divine gift' to benighted natives who required systemic adjustments to themselves, their culture and their communities. It was implied that mechanisms for entrenching Pākehā domination were mechanisms for freeing their souls and minds.

Perhaps not surprisingly, Māori engagement with the system was varied and often contentious. While Māori were more than willing to adopt some aspects of an imported system, they were unwilling to change their ways of being or world views.

Over the next two centuries, Māori knowledge and knowledge gathering and delivery were gradually undermined. Underlining this diminution of many, if not all, aspects of Māori culture and resource loss was Māori failure.

The current focus on gaps between Māori and non-Māori performance is perceived in the context of what the dominant community deems is, and is not, important. Perhaps focusing on gaps between Māori aspirations and achievements would be more appropriate.

It seems that Māori disjunction with the education system is a failed attempt by everyone, including Māori, to come to terms with contemporary demands and reality. Voices are now being heard that refute many 19th and 20th century perceptions and attitudes, and we are seeing change as a result.

Using traditional, pre-European-contact behaviours and conventions as guides to current and future initiatives in education could be seen as an attempt to reinforce mana for Māori communities. Those communities are often seen by outsiders, and by Māori themselves, as failing in things that are considered important or relevant.

While some may see this publication as a way of informing those who wish to change the current system to suit Māori needs, it is hoped that

others will see it as a contribution to new educational contexts where things which Māori consider important and relevant are given a central position and accorded appropriate consideration.

As it has turned out, the way Māori educated themselves and their young appears to be applicable today. Many of the hallmarks of Māori education prove that traditional values and operating standards can be translated into contemporary contexts.

The written record is sparse and the information patchy. This is an attempt to put a jigsaw together that has some important pieces missing. As stated in the introduction this should not be seen as a definitive publication, but rather as a point of discussion and departure.

Tungia te ururua kia tupu whakaritorito te tupu o te harakeke
Kua Mutu

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS

Hapū	*Subtribe*
Iwi	*Tribe*
Kaiarahi	*Guide*
Kaitiaki	*Guardian*
Karakia	*Prayer*
Kaumatua	*Elder*
Kawa	*Traditional procedures*
Kōhanga reo	*Māori language nests, early childhood centres*
Kōrero tawhito	*Histories*
Kura	*School*
Kura kaupapa Māori	*Māori language primary schools*
Mana	*Prestige*
Marae	*Courtyard*
Mōteatea	*Traditional verse (also known as waiata tawhito)*
Pūkenga	*Advisor, guide*
Rangatira	*Chief, person of high standing*
Tauiwi	*Pakeha, stranger, non-Māori*
Te reo	*Maori language*
Tikanga	*Cultural icons and norms*
Tohunga	*Revered teacher, expert, spiritual guide*
Tupuna/tipuna	*Ancestor/s*
Waiata	*Songs, verse, poetry*
Whaikōrero	*Speeches, speech making*
Whakapapa	*Genealogy*
Whakatauākī	*Proverb*
Whānau	*Family*
Whanaunga	*Relations, extended family*
Whanaungatanga	*Relationships*
Whare wānanga	*House of higher learning*
Whare	*House*

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Tuwhakaririka te tupuna

Wharehuia Hemara worked as Kaitiaki i ngā Kōrero Māori and Kaiarahi i ngā Kōrero Māori at the Turnbull Library for almost five years. He has written a report on the socio-economic decline of Ngāti Maniapoto, which was serialised in the Māori newspaper *Kia Hiwa Ra*. He now works as a researcher for the New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

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